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THE GROWTH OF THE EMPIRE

A HANDBOOK TO THE HISTORY OF GREATER BRITAIN

BY ARTHUR W. JOSE

THIRD EDITION

LONDON
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.
1913

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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

"THE name of this book, I hope, sufficiently expresses its object. It is an attempt to portray, interestingly if possible, accurately as far as may be, the growth of that British Empire of which we are all free citizens; to show it in all its stages from acorn to oak as an organic whole, stirred by the same winds of fluctuating policy, nourished in every leaf by the same springing sap of British blood. We have histories enough, large and small, of India and Canada and Australia and South Africa: we still lack the Imperial historian, the man who shall do for Seeley what the Herschels did for Newton. We lack him, but we need him; and it may be that the very imperfections of a mere outline sketch, such as this is, will rouse the right man to do the work that is waiting for him.

For my own work, I make bold to hope this fate at least—that it may interest the busy man, stimulate the indifferent man, and whet the appetite of the student; and that every one who reads it, be he young or old, may feel himself a product and a part of what he reads about,—in whose life the fact of the Empire's existence, and the methods of its growth, have been and are an important and a determining influence. We are of the

race and nation of the Empire-builders, and it is our business to understand their building in order rightly to maintain it."

So much of the original preface I may, perhaps, be pardoned for quoting; both because I have found no new way of describing my aims and my hopes, and because the favourable reception of two editions in Australia encourages one to believe that the hopes are being fulfilled. Here, at any rate, is the book as it was originally planned—not cut short in the sixties, and ended off with the merest *resumé* of all modern Imperial work, but giving a record of British expansion up to the present time in such a form as to show from our past history the inevitableness of recent failures and successes. To deal with so vast a subject in so confined a space, one must be content to neglect a mass of interesting matter; and my principle of selection has been always to choose for description those events, those lines of policy, those currents of opinion in the past which throw most light on events and policies and opinions of to-day.

In this edition the first seven chapters (the Introductory and I.-VI.) stand much as they did in earlier editions. Chapter VII.—on Africa—has been very largely re-written after a closer study of original authorities in South Africa itself. Chapters VIII. and IX. are almost entirely new, and include not only a fuller treatment of recent events within the Empire, but also some account of Imperial work in Egypt and China. The maps are designed specially to illustrate the text, by giving in clearly visible form informa-

tion which the ordinary atlas either omits or hides among a crowd of details.

There are many people whom I ought to thank for hints and criticisms, which have added much to whatever value this work possesses: personal friends, reviewers, fellow-students in the same subject. If they chance upon the book in its new form, they will know that no hint and no criticism have been neglected, that all have contributed directly or indirectly to its re-shaping. That, I believe, is the best way in which I can thank them. A. W. J.

PUBLISHER'S NOTE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THIS Edition contains a good deal of new matter. Recent imperial developments, in Africa and India especially, have made correction necessary, so the opportunity has been taken to revise the whole book, and to bring it thoroughly up to date. Two new maps have also been added to illustrate the Indian Mutiny and the Near and Middle East. The latter, which deals with the international agreements as to Persia and the surrounding countries, is taken, by kind permission, from Colonel A. M. Murray's "Imperial Outposts."

It should be mentioned that owing to the author's absence in Australia the proofs have not had the advantage of his personal supervision.

August, 1909.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

PREFACE vii

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER: THE BRITISH EMPIRE—

A. WHAT IS IT? 1

B. HOW DID IT COME INTO BEING? 6

C. BRITONS AS COLONIZERS 9

CHAPTER I: BEGINNINGS OF THE EMPIRE—

A. THE ELIZABETHAN ADVENTURERS 16

B. NEW ENGLAND 24

C. OTHER MAINLAND SETTLEMENTS 27

D. THE WEST INDIES 34

E. THE OLD COLONIAL SYSTEM 45

F. EASTERN TRADE AND STATIONS 48

CHAPTER II: ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN AMERICA—

A. THE LAND AND THE NATIVES 55

B. INDIAN WARS 60

C. THE TREATY OF UTRECHT AND ITS RESULTS . 64

D. NORTH AMERICA, 1714-48 71

E. THE FRENCH ADVANCE ALL ALONG THE LINE . 78

F. MISMANAGED WAR 83

G. WILLIAM PITT 90

CHAPTER III: BRITISH CANADA—

A. THE NEW RULE IN CANADA 100
B. DISAFFECTION IN THE COLONIES 103
C. THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION 110
D. THE NEW CONSTITUTION 122
E. CONSTITUTIONAL STRUGGLES AND REFORMS . . 130
F. BOUNDARY SETTLEMENTS 138

CHAPTER IV: INDIA—

A. THE COUNTRY IN 1740 144
B. THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE . 146
C. THE BRITISH GAIN A FOOTHOLD IN BENGAL . 153
D. FIRST ATTEMPTS AT RULING 158
E. THE PRESIDENCY OF WARREN HASTINGS . . 165
F. MAHRATTA AND MYSORE WARS 170

CHAPTER V: BRITISH INDIA—

A. CORNWALLIS AND REFORM IN BENGAL . . 179
B. WELLESLEY CREATES OUR INDIAN EMPIRE . . 185
C. WELLESLEY'S SYSTEM COMPLETED 194
D. BENTINCK AND INTERNAL REFORM . . . 198
E. WARS AGAIN 204
F. DALHOUSIE 208
G. THE MUTINY 216

CHAPTER VI: AUSTRALASIA—

A. EARLY DISCOVERIES 226
B. THE CONVICT SETTLEMENT 231
C. THE NEW SOUTH WALES CORPS 238
D. THE BEGINNINGS OF FREEDOM 242
E. THE DAUGHTER COLONIES 252
F. OTHER AUSTRALASIAN SETTLEMENTS . . . 257
G. THE GRANTING OF CONSTITUTIONS 268

CHAPTER VII: AFRICA—

PAGE

I. WEST AFRICA 274

II. EAST AFRICA AND THE LAKES 283

III. SOUTH AFRICA—

A. THE DUTCH SETTLEMENT 287

B. BRITISH RULE BEGINS 293

C. THE ZULU TERROR 297

D. THE PHILANTHROPISTS 300

E. THE GREAT TREK 305

F. THE SHAPING OF SOUTH AFRICA 314

CHAPTER VIII: THE DEVELOPING OF AFRICA—

A. DIAMONDS AND FEDERAL SCHEMES . . . 323

B. THE UNQUIET TRANSVAAL 326

C. THE RUSH FOR AFRICA 333

D. CHARTERED COMPANIES 337

E. THE NILE VALLEY 345

F. THE WELDING OF SOUTH AFRICA 354

CHAPTER IX: IMPERIAL DEVELOPMENTS—

A. THE AMERICAN COLONIES 367

B. AUSTRALASIA 378

C. THE INDIAN EMPIRE 389

D. CEYLON AND FURTHER INDIA 404

E. TRADE ROUTES AND THEIR DEFENCE . . . 413

APPENDIX A: COLONIAL ARTICLES OF IMPORTANT TREATIES . 419

APPENDIX B: BRITISH COLONIES AND THEIR CONSTITUTIONS . 427

INDEX OF NAMES, ETC. 431

MAPS

The Empire in 1913	*Frontispiece*
The Weimar map, showing the Pope's line	*To face page* 16
Verazzano's map of North and Central America (1529)	*Page* 19
The Early Partition of America	,, 31
The West Indies	,, 37
The Canadian Borderlands	,, 57
The Empire in 1698	*To face page* 61
Eastern North America in 1754	,, 82
The Empire in 1763	,, 100
America after the Quebec Act	*Page* 111
Boundary Questions in Maine and Oregon	*To face page* 140
India—Physical Features	,, 144
India as left by Clive (1767)	*Page* 162
India as left by Wellesley (1805)	,, 190
India as left by Lord Hastings (1823)	,, 196
India as left by Dalhousie (1856)	,, 214
Map to illustrate the Indian Mutiny	*To face page* 222
Australasia—Physical Features	,, 228
Australia in 1826	,, 244
Australia about 1842	,, 252
New Zealand in 1843	,, 264
Africa—Physical Features	,, 273

Africa in 1843 . . . . . *To face page* 282
The Empire in 1815 . . . . . ,, 294
South Africa in 1854 . . . . . *Page* 318
Africa in 1879 . . . . . *To face page* 329
Africa in 1913 . . . . . ,, 344
Australia in 1863 . . . . . *To face page* 379
New Zealand in 1875 . . . . . ,, 381
Oceania in 1913 . . . . . ,, 384
The Indian Empire in 1913 . . . . . *Page* 399
The Near and Middle East . . . . . *To face page* 404

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GROWTH OF THE EMPIRE

INTRODUCTORY

THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

A. What is it?

When one begins to study a subject seriously, it is well to commence (like Euclid) with a few definitions of the terms in most frequent use. And few phrases need a clearer definition, and more constant remembrance of that definition, than the phrase which heads this chapter. There have been so many Empires, and so many of them have been associated with ideas of tyranny, that the name has sometimes an evil odour; and the word "Imperial," which should nowadays proudly sum up the achievements of a nation, retains shreds of a worn-out meaning and suffers from our prejudice against individual and irresponsible rule.

What do we mean by "British Empire"?

In common language, an empire is the combination of a number of countries under one central government; strictly speaking, it should have a single head with absolute power. The three great empires of antiquity—the Persian, Macedonian, and Roman—were all empires in the strictest sense of the word, and had four points in

Ancient empires were all

common. *They all originated from conquest.* Some small state or tribe, more warlike than its neighbours, became aggressive, established first an ascendency and then an absolute control over the nearest tribes, and, by absorbing their fighting men into its ranks, created an army large enough to extend its dominion far and wide. Again, *the conquered tribes were retained in subjection.* This was necessary from the very fact of their subjugation; in the most enlightened of the three —the Roman empire—it was a sign of weakened control when foreigners were admitted to the citizenship, and the very admission but hastened the ruin of the empire. *Each empire was won by the superior fighting power of the conquering nation, not by virtue of its higher culture.* The Persians were distinctly inferior in the arts of peace to the Medians, Assyrians, and Egyptians, all of whom they conquered; Macedon could not boast of higher culture than Greece or the Persia of its day; the early Romans were below the Etruscans, and the later below Greece and Egypt, in all that pertained to science and philosophy. In every case superior fighting power, and that alone, paved the way for rule. And in every case, tribes and nations being then small, *the dominion was stretched over many nationalities*, and was practically based, as long as it stood firm, on the fear of the Roman name—to take one instance—and the pride of Roman citizenship. Summing up, it may be said that ancient empires were uniform, being acquired by conquest, founded on the complete subjection of the conquered, independent of their superior culture, and unconnected with any sentiment among them of a common nationality.

won by conquest;

made up of subject tribes;

independent of higher civilization,

and of a common nationality.

Modern empires, on the contrary, are anything but uniform; and each differs in several of these points from its ancient fellows. The German empire, for instance, of to-day represents strongly the feeling of common nationality. Much as some of the other German states disliked Prussian supremacy, they yearned for German unity more; and there results a compact, coherent aggregate of states differing largely in religion and interests, but linked together by strong ties of blood and language. Contrasted with this we find in the Austrian empire a heterogeneous assemblage of states, diverse in blood, language, interests, religion, and united only by their ruler,—to whom they came mostly by converging inheritance of his ancestors, partly by diplomatic treaty arrangements, because they happened to lie on his borders. The third great empire of modern Europe is a composite one. Russia, like Germany, is a mass of small states more completely absorbed than the German into one great body, depending for its coherence not only on blood and language, but even more securely on unity of religion; but added to this great Slav dominion there is another empire of conquest, Asiatic Russia, founded distinctly upon the superior civilization of the conquerors. It, too, is compact, bound up like Germany and Austria within one continuous frontier line. We may also notice, in passing, the now extinct colonial empire of Spain, which shows clearly the results of applying the ancient Imperial system to an empire of colonies; for it is to be noticed that the extension of a dominion by colonization is a purely modern phenomenon. So Spain, the first of the great modern colonizing powers, spoilt an opportunity un-

Modern "empires" have no such similarity.

The German:

the Austrian:

the Russian:

the mediæval Spanish Empire.

paralleled in the history of the world, and ruined her new wine by pouring it into the old bottles of conquered and subject empire. And her acquisitions, ruled by the old method, fell from her in the historic way. Like the provinces of Macedon, partitioned among Alexander's generals, where the conquering race was soon absorbed in the greater mass of the resident population, the South American Republics became the prey of a succession of dictators, and the intrusive Spaniard became gradually indistinguishable from the Indian races over whom he had once held sway.

The British Empire is more complex than any of these.

Apart from all these stands the British Empire of the present day, resembling them in many points, but distinguished by its complex composition, the wide severance and dissimilarity of its parts, and the curiously incongruous character of the ties which unite them to the mother country. For convenience we may consider it under two heads—the colonial empire (which is not, except in the case of purely Crown colonies, an empire in the technical sense at all) and the Indian empire.

The Colonies.

The colonial dependencies of Britain fall into three groups—(*a*) the great self-governing dominions, federated or not, Canada, Australia, and South Africa; (*b*) the mass of small colonies* administered by officials from home, but possessing a voice in the making of their own laws (in training, as it were, for future self-government); and (*c*) the military stations under complete control of the Home Government, which, together with a few districts such as the West African settlements, where the native element is disproportionately strong, compose the real "British possessions." They are nearly all colonies of conquest, but of a peculiar

* Rhodesia is large in area, but small as regards its white population.

kind of conquest. Either, as in the case of Australia and of those colonies which are now the United States, the conquest was gradual, an occupation of land which the original inhabitants were too few to fill and too unskilful to use to the full ; or it was a conquest not of the original owners at all, but of a previously invading race, such as took place in Canada and at the Cape. And in this latter style of acquisition lay a great danger, not yet entirely overcome; for Canada was even during this century disturbed by attempts of some French colonists to regain their lost power, and in South Africa the Boer element has long been a serious hindrance to the closer union of the colonies there.

Thus even among the self-governing colonies we have to draw a line between those which are linked to Britain by blood and language and those which are kept in the empire by little else than its superior civilization, its moral prestige, and a certain amount of community in interests. In the less independent colonies the tie of nationality is weaker still. Negroes in the West Indies, Malayans and Chinese in the East, savage tribes in all the outlying settlements, complicate the relations between government and governed ; and the diversity of races is far surpassed by the diversity of religions.

Turning to the Indian empire, we are in a different atmosphere altogether. India, apart from British rule in it, is simply a geographical expression—a large piece of the earth cut off by high mountains from the rest of Asia, and so conveniently spoken of under one name—peopled by tribes of different tongues, different origins, different religions, constantly (in old times) at war with each other, an aggregation of the least similar constituents that were ever crowded together on the face of the earth. Mountaineers and plain-men, warriors and philosophers, snake-worshippers, Brahminists and

India,

Mohammedans, with many others, are all included under one head when we talk about India; and the solitary bond between them is their subordination to British rule. Here, then, we have an empire proper, administered by a central government composed entirely of an alien race; kept in check partly by alien forces, partly by a judicious utilisation of internal differences; governed on alien principles, and very largely with alien institutions, which must help to give the alien higher privileges than the native. In fact, we have the nearest approach possible in modern times to the old Roman system of empire, but with one great difference in favour of British rule. For the last hundred years it has been the theory in our government of India, to which the practice has more and more approximated, that India is to be governed for its own benefit. Though more completely a British possession by right of conquest than any large territory in our dominions, we hold it for its own sake far more than for ours; and the growing trade which constitutes its chief value for the rest of the empire, and which, it must be confessed, would probably be ruined by any separation, has been allowed to increase naturally, unfettered since the British nation has governed India by any selfish and restrictive laws.

an empire much of the old style,

but with one very important difference.

B. How did it come into being?

How did this complicated political system come into being? It is a question all the more interesting because not so long ago no one would have dared to predict such a state of things. Its growth is a matter of two or three centuries only; and though we are apt to think of everything before the French Revolution as very ancient history indeed, a century in a nation's

Time-spaces in history.

line is no more than ten years in a man's. It is a useful rule for getting at the proportions of things in history to divide all your time-spaces by ten, and to remember that modern politics were no more born at the French Revolution than a young man of twenty was born when he first got into trousers.

So we must remember that the British Empire is a very modern thing indeed. Barely four hundred years have passed since there began to stream out of Europe a long line of adventurers and explorers, traders and settlers, all eager for great deeds and great discoveries and great rewards, for the spices of the East Indies and the precious metals of the West. Southern Asia and the African coast fell to the share of Portugal; all the New World lay open to the will of Spain. What Spain neglected France explored; Holland snatched a great trade-empire when Portugal lost her freedom. After a hundred and fifty years of this European enterprise Britain alone of the Western powers was lagging behind; her colonies were comprised in two strips of the North American seaboard, with hostile powers on either flank and Dutch and Swedish settlements between them.

Four hundred years ago.

To-day the empire of Spain has dwindled to a few islands and a strip of barren coast. Portugal holds, in a vague fashion, territory about as large as South Australia. The Dutch Islands in all are smaller. France, indeed, has an empire (including the Western Sahara) nearly half as large again as India; but only about one-fiftieth of that has been hers for more than fifty years. And Britain, the seeming laggard, holds more than eleven million square miles of the earth's surface—the area of Africa inhabited by the population of Europe; while the two colonies that barely held their own against the four other occupants of North America have

To-day.

developed into an aggregate of three million and a half miles more, inhabited by nearly seventy millions of people.

It is easy to see why Britain was so far behind the others. Before a nation can begin to colonize it must first have consolidated itself. That is why Portugal in the fifteenth century was ahead of Spain in matters of colonizing, and why Germany has only just appeared on the field. Now it was under Elizabeth that England first contained a united nation, and under her began the acquisition of distant colonies. But it so happened that after her death there cropped up several religious and political questions of great importance, and these had to be fought out and finally settled before colonization could be taken up in earnest. So the serious history of the British Empire really begins with the eighteenth century. It was during that time that the Scottish kingdom, after fifty years of close union with England, became itself a coherent whole, and brought fresh power to the task of Empire-making: Ireland, too, which the British Government had been in the habit of treating as a distant colony —on the same lines, one might almost say, as Jamaica— was gradually admitted in practice to the rank of a sister kingdom, and took her part in the expansion of Britain.

It takes a *nation* to colonize: collections of peoples will not do.

But by this time the greater part of the habitable world had been allotted. By the middle of the seventeenth century there was hardly any room left, at least for a new colonizing power.

How was room made? In two ways. In the first place, Britain at once insisted on the rule which Germany, in a similar difficulty, revived in 1884. The land belonged, said the British traders, to those who occupied it. It was futile for Spain to claim general ownership of South America, or for France to nail lead-plates on half a dozen trees in the

How Britain made room for herself.

Ohio valley. The government might sometimes yield a weak assent to such claims, but the merchant-explorers pooh-poohed them. Wherever other Christian nations had actual settlements, they were generally willing to acknowledge their prior right; but unoccupied country (and in those days all nations meant by that "unoccupied by Christian Europeans") was fair game. And having thus got foothold on the new countries, they took advantage of every opportunity through which an European war could be forced on the home government to extend their own area of occupation over the colonies of the countries which Britain might be fighting. They were the better able to do this because the British navy rapidly made itself master of all the other European navies; and the command of the sea, which resulted from this, enabled British colonists, while drawing their own supplies of men and material from home, to cut off the supplies of their hostile neighbours.

The importance of sea-power.

C. Britons as Colonizers.

The detailed proof of all this will be found in the remaining chapters of this book. There is still one more question which we ought to consider here.

What made Britain a colonizing nation? All growing nations are at some time or other bound to spread beyond their original borders: and the nation that holds control of the sea routes is in the best position to expand effectively without being broken up in the process. Yet this does not account for all the facts in the case we are dealing with. Within two hundred and fifty years a state occupying less than a hundred and fifty thousand square miles of land has grown into an empire that includes more than eleven million square miles; and that is not done by sea-power only.

But sea-power alone will not account for it.

The colonizing qualities.

There are seven qualities specially useful in the work of colonization. All colonizing nations possess some of these qualities; British success is based on the majority of them. They are—

(i.) *Physical Strength.*—In the competition for colonies all parts of the earth have been occupied, and that nation must be most successful which can best stand all varieties of climate and come through all dangers with least permanent harm. Such a nation will be bred in the temperate climates, and on the whole the further north the better. Britain, France, and Germany have this advantage over Mediterranean nations.

We may add here the *tendency to rapid increase in population* which helps to occupy rapidly, and so maintain a hold on, the comparatively waste lands where colonies are formed.

(ii.) *Adventurousness.*—Nations mainly continental are slow to move; it is the maritime powers that scatter their explorers over the world. And it is a great advantage here that a nation should be composite, not all of one stock. The Spaniards who followed in the track of Columbus were a blend of many races—Gaul, Visigoth, Roman, Moor, Jew; and in French colonization to-day it is the men of mixed blood, Normans, Bretons, Gascons, who do most of the work. The French peasant of the central districts knows nothing of colonies, and would feel it a worse than Siberian exile to go there.

(iii.) *Trading Spirit.*—It is not enough to discover new lands; the colonizer must have some motive for holding them. When Portugal in 1580 fell into the hands of Spain, all her valuable East Indian colonies were practically thrown away because the Spaniards, adventurous as they were, cared for nothing but gold-seeking. So the Dutch, the most ardent traders of that day, were able to annex nearly all Portugal's colonial empire; and

their commercial zeal has stimulated them to hold their conquests ever since.

(iv.) *Settling Spirit.*—After all, a trading colony like the Dutch East Indies is not our idea of a colony at all. To hold one or two towns along the coast of a big island and keep some order among the native chiefs is not work that can build up new states. The empire-making races must contain men who will open up new countries with the hope of living in them. The Frenchman in Tonquin hopes to get back to France before the best of his life is over ; so does, as a rule, the English official in India ; but the English colonist at Buluwayo is there to make himself a home.

(v.) *Fighting Spirit.*—This does not mean aggressiveness, but the determination to "stand no nonsense." It is the carrying out of the old advice :

> "Beware
> Of entrance to a quarrel ; but, being in,
> Bear 't that the opposéd may beware of thee."

Not so long ago France and Germany had mere strips of coast side by side in the Gulf of Guinea, and the native tribes of the inland country troubled both. The Germans, brave enough when they must fight, and never over-lenient to natives, yet concluded for quietness' sake to confine their operations to the coastal districts. The French were determined to make themselves respected by their neighbours up country. And to-day the German Cameroons is shut in all round by the French Congo, which has spread north-east into Central Africa till its boundaries march with those of Egypt and British East Africa, and is edging its way round Lake Tchad to meet other French expansions from the Niger and Algeria.

(vi.) *Adaptability to the native element.*—The Red Indians in North America, the Bantu tribes of South

Africa, the Aztecs of Spanish America, were all important factors in the settlement of those countries; they were too many to be despised and too warlike to be cowed. The nation that could best humour them gained an advantage over its competitors. So France, by making friends with the Indians, long held her own against overwhelming numbers of English colonists in the struggle for the Mississippi valley; and has recently used the Senegalese with similar success in her African empire-making. To this adaptability also is largely due the Russian conquest of Central Asia. Here England is lacking. "It is not anywhere," said Lord Durham, "a virtue of the English race to look with complacency on any manners, customs, or laws which appear strange to them."

(vii.) *Dominance.*—You can utilize native tribes by humouring them; but to establish an empire among them you must be able also to master them, and to do it in such a way that they will own the mastership without chafing under it. To make the men you have conquered follow you gladly—that is the secret of empire; to be obeyed because you are trusted, and feared only by the shifty and crooked. On this all our Indian empire rests. We conquered the Sikhs in 1848, and they stood by us in the Mutiny nine years later. We occupied Hunza-Nagar in 1890, and in 1895 the tribes marched with our men to relieve Chitral. British rule in India is based, indirectly but no less certainly for that, on the consent of the governed.

It is worth while remembering that British colonization is not carried on only with men of the British race.

Britain uses other races as colonists.

The same qualities that hold the empire together make it possible for other races to transfer themselves within the empire from continent to continent. Such migrations brought perforce the negro to his beloved West Indies, and now stock Guiana with

Hindu coolies and set the Sikh to civilize Nyassaland; while under less fortunate stars the Banyan has invaded Natal,* and the ubiquitous Chinaman from Hong Kong or Singapore smuggles himself into the warm lands that back Port Darwin.

We have now got some idea of the foundations which uphold this great fabric of the Empire. From end to end it has been built up by the adventurousness of men always ready both to fight and to trade. The great colonies are British because beyond all others that race of men can make a home in new lands without breaking loose from the mother country. India is British because the same race supplies for its government continually men of heroic masterfulness and splendid incorruptibility. Everywhere it is the race, not the State as such, that has done the permanent work of colonization—for Australia, the one State-founded colony, has ever since been trying to forget the methods of her founding, while she bears, and will for many years bear, marks of her origin in the insatiable craving of her people for Government aid in all their undertakings. Not so was born the proud self-reliance of New England and of British India: a private company founded Massachusetts, a private company won Bengal: and to-day on the Zambesi and on the Niger alike the strength and the resources of private citizens have added new provinces to our African Dominion.

Our Empire the creation of the race,

and of private enterprise.

But while private enterprise has nearly always taken the initiative, and has often carried its adventurous achievements through without State help, yet the State has helped. For the last 150 years British war-policy has mainly been commercial and

How the State has helped.

* When English influence was still predominant in Madagascar, the Bombay Banyans made there what was almost a little Mohammedan kingdom, which later on gave the French a good deal of anxiety.

colonial in its aims, not dynastic or ministerial. Since Walpole was forced into unwilling war with Spain by the smuggler-merchants of London, the popular voice has generally instigated and always supported the policy of fighting. For Britain since then the day of Kings' wars has been over; the one King's war of that period—the War of American Independence—was at first backed by a popular feeling that counted the colonists ungrateful, and when it lost that backing it died a natural death. In other countries we have still seen wars brought on for the sake of a dynasty, or to distract attention from a vicious government at home; but it was not the Hanoverianism of George II., or the anti-republicanism of George III., that set us fighting in 1755 and 1793—it was the insistent and inevitable demand of British settlers and British traders that their expansion should be unhindered by land and sea. And to maintain this the nation has never refused to spend blood and treasure like water. The National Debt is the memorial of its lavishness, the capital which it has raised without stint to found and establish this great joint-stock business that we call the Empire. We should never forget that the home Briton pays in peace-time nearly two-thirds of his income tax (five-pence in the pound) as interest on that capital, and therefore as the price mainly of colonial freedom. The actual figures are worth having:

Our Imperial ledger.

£35,000,000 was the price of Nova Scotia and in part of India, since the profits of the Assiento contract went to establish the British Company in India.

£87,000,000 was the price of American freedom — the expulsion of France from Canada;

and if £116,000,000 was spent in trying to retain within the Empire the colonies which had already cost so much, it was scarcely too dear a price at which to buy the ruin of personal monarchy and the bankruptcy of monarchic France.

Finally, £621,000,000 spent in the great European wars that crushed Napoleon and established our supremacy on the oceans, is the price of Australia and South Africa, and of the power to expand into new lands without disturbance that we enjoyed for seventy years after Waterloo.

Summary.

Certain qualities of body and mind, therefore, make Britons good colonists: the initiative in that work has usually been left to private enterprise: and the nation has not grudged its support to the private adventurer. With such aids the Briton has mastered his fate, wherever it set him down to the struggle—whether his task has been to impose upon the warring civilizations of India a rule whose strength is in its justice, or himself to civilize that other Indian of the West from hunter into farmer: whether he must tame in Africa the Zulu and the Fulah, or in Australia fight against drought and fire and the mere vastness and emptiness of the land.

CHAPTER I

BEGINNINGS OF THE EMPIRE.

A. The Elizabethan Adventurers.

THE building of our empire began in the later years of the reign of Elizabeth. Our first permanent colony, indeed, dates its existence from three years after her death; and by that time the other nations of Western Europe had been for a hundred years busy in exploring and dividing among themselves the new coast-lands which Columbus and his successors added to the map of the world.

Greater Britain dates from the reign of Elizabeth.

It is a fairly well-known story, the tale of that outrush of adventurers, that scramble for American territory, which matched the fairy tales of Eastern art with stranger realities of Western travel, and turned of a sudden the hard-fighting, clean-blooded Spaniard into a pampered millionaire. Portugal studded with her trading forts the long stretch of Western African coast and the whole curving shore-line of the Indian Ocean from Mozambique to Malacca, seizing in her passage south the great Brazilian promontory, and thrusting her ships through the tangled straits of Malaysia till they had commerce with half-mythical Japan. Spain, borrowing her guide Columbus from those ancient mariners the Genoese, steered a more daring course through open ocean for the same Indian goal, and found her passage barred by a land more

Other nations ahead of us:

Portugal in 1434.

Spain in 1492.

MAP OF THE WORLD AS KNOWN IN 1527

Showing the dividing line between Spanish and Portuguese possessions, now in the Grand-Ducal Library at Weimar. The "Pope's line" passes a little west of the Amazon mouth, and the flags of Spain and Portugal border it at the bottom of the map. In the far east these flags are repeated in such a position as to claim the Moluccas for Spain.

The original map was made in the India House at Seville, for the special use of the Emperor Charles V., and some attribute it to Hernando, son of Christopher Columbus.

wealthy still; her soldier bands, unfit by nature for the trade methods which so successfully exploited the real India, found more congenial work in uprooting the fungus empires of Mexico and Peru, and converting whole tribes (as did the Moors they had lately conquered) at the point of the sword. The famous "Pope's line"* separated these two rivals, and claimed the whole non-Christian world as an appanage of one or the other.

The rush for the New World.

Year after year new bands of adventurers crossed the Atlantic in search of gold and empire. Columbus to his dying day had believed—had, at least, been very insistent that others should believe—that he *had* found India; but within a few years of his death the truth was known to the Spaniards at least; for Spain was very jealous (Portugal also, for that matter) of letting any other nation into her secrets, and the work of Balboa at Darien, of Ponce da Leon in Florida, of de Soto on the Mississippi, and of Coronado in the Rocky Mountain chain between the Upper Missouri and the two gulfs that bound Mexico, only became known to the rest of Europe in driblets, an adventure at a time.

1513. 1512. 1543. 1540.

Early notions of America.

For some years, therefore, the Spanish possessions were thought of as a mass of half-defined islands in mid-Atlantic, with the long north-eastern arm of Asia curving itself gently above them. Newfoundland and Labrador, discovered by the Cabots in 1497,† and re-surveyed by the Portuguese Cortereal three years after, figured on maps where we

* Pope Alexander VI. in 1493 granted to Spain the sovereignty over all lands west of a line drawn "a hundred leagues west and south of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands." This somewhat vague grant was modified by the Treaty of Tordesillas (between Spain and Portugal, June 7, 1494), and the dividing line between the two countries' dominions was drawn 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands.

† John Cabot got "great honours"—and £10—from Henry the Seventh for his discovery.

now see Saghalien, with Greenland just above them in place of Kamtchatka. This curious distortion, moreover, brought these lands to the east of the Pope's line, and therefore within the Portuguese claim; and as Cortereal was not very enthusiastic about what he had seen, they became a No-man's-land open to explorers of other nations. Within a very few years of Cabot's voyage French fishermen were at work on the Banks of Newfoundland; soon four nations shared the cod between them, and a squadron of fifty fishing boats from England lorded it over six times their number of Spaniards, French, and Portuguese.

The Banks of Newfoundland.

Fishing, however, was a minor matter to the rulers at home. India was still their goal—or rather, because the Portuguese seemed to monopolize India, "Cathay and the Moluccas," the mainland and the islands of Asia that lie east of the Gulf of Siam. Gradually it became known that the coast-line was practically continuous all the way from Florida to Labrador, and that the American barrier thus stretched from top to bottom of the Atlantic; but hope was still left. Where the new land was well known, from Mexico downwards, it was narrow—it might just as well be narrow further north.* There were legends, too, of a great sea to westwards seen over the sand-dunes of Cape Hatteras; there were others of the Roanoke River, that its head-springs were often salt with spray blown from the Pacific Ocean. France in 1524 sent Verazzano to survey the mysterious coast-line, and the fabled western sea for many years bore his name: but Francis I. was not yet willing to quarrel with Spain by openly traversing her claims, and de-

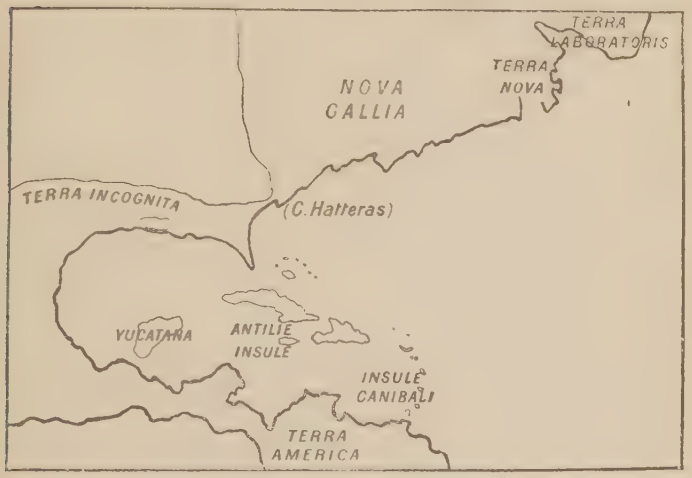
Cathay the goal.

Legends of a Pacific inlet.

* As late as 1592, Juan de Fuca, the discoverer of Vancouver Island, reported a huge sea to the N.E. of it, probably connecting with Hudson's Bay.

termined to find a way through the barrier by stealth. Under his orders Cartier sailed in 1534 to thread the passages of the Newfoundland archipelago. His first voyage mapped out the Gulf of St Lawrence, his second opened up the great river itself as far as Hochelaga, an Indian town on the island

Explorations of Jacques Cartier, 1534-42.



VERAZZANO'S MAP OF NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA (1529), SHOWING PAMLICO SOUND MISTAKEN FOR THE WESTERN OCEAN.

of Montreal; Cathay was still distant, but the grim Saguenay gorge and the wide stream of the Ottawa were both possible openings of the long desired waterway to the Pacific. Thirty years afterwards, in the great map of Mercator, Lake Superior figured as an inlet from the Pacific which could be reached by the Ottawa route, and the St Lawrence wandered across the central plain of North America from sources that almost mingled with those of the Colorado.

Not long after Cartier's time England began to take

a hand in the game. Cathay, of course, was the object in view; and from the time of Edward VI. to past the middle of Elizabeth's reign, adventurers pushed out north-east and north-west to find some passage through the Arctic ice. Chanceler on the eastward route discovered the White Sea and opened up a flourishing trade with Muscovy; Frobisher and Davis rounded Labrador, and brought back what they thought was gold from the shores of Hudson's Bay. English traders voyaged along the coasts of Spanish America, trading peaceably where they could,* enforcing trade with their guns if the Spanish officer in charge of a town tried to prevent them—unless, indeed, the damage was likely to be so great that the authorities at Madrid might complain to Queen Elizabeth about them. International law had not yet insisted very strongly on the principle that a State is responsible for the behaviour of its citizens beyond its own boundaries; audacious individuals did what they liked and took what they could at their own risk, and trusted that sooner or later their States would help those who had not too liberally helped themselves. When the Spaniards, at San Juan d'Ulloa, treacherously entrapped Hawkins and Drake, the victims simply set their teeth and looked out for their chance of retaliation; and the sack of Nombre de Dios was the first-fruits of Drake's vengeance, which was destined to play so large and so successful a part in the first of England's great commercial wars.

England wakes up.

The discovery of Muscovy, 1553. Frobisher, 1576. Davis, 1585-86.

The sea-rovers. Hawkins, 1562-7.

1568.

Drake at Nombre de Dios, 1572.

But all this was not colonizing. Frobisher was on the hunt for gold and the north-west passage to Cathay;

* Hawkins claimed free trade with Spanish ports in virtue of a commercial treaty between England and Philip of Burgundy, father of Charles V.

Drake was on the hunt for Spanish treasure and the other end of the same passage—a quest which led him up the Oregon coast in 1579. The honour of the new conception—the permanent occupation of new lands with men who were to live by their own labour—must be given to three of the men about Elizabeth's court: Humphrey Gilbert, his half-brother Walter Raleigh, and their friend and *protégé* Richard Hakluyt. We make too little of Hakluyt, as a rule, though he was the Homer of Elizabethan adventure and the Tyrtaeus of our first colonists. Oxford may be proud that she trained him, the friend not only of Gilbert and Raleigh, but of Sidney and Walsingham and Cecil; the scholar whose delight it was to champion British pluck against the arrogance of the Spaniards, to exalt our "valiant knights" and "famous pilots" above da Gama and Columbus themselves, and to write *ab Anglis inventa* across the hitherto blank regions of his maps. "If there were in us," he wrote, "that desire to advance the honour of our country which ought to be in every good man, we could not all this while have forslown the possessing of these regions"; and he went on to advocate "the deducting of some colonies of our superfluous people into those temperate and fertile parts of America which are yet unpossessed by any Christians."

Drake's voyage round the world, 1577-81.

The pioneers of Empire.

Hakluyt, 1553-1616.

Gilbert and Raleigh were fully of the same mind, and were indefatigable in planting small colonies of the new kind. Raleigh's first attempt was made in Ireland, where a large tract of Munster lay waste after one of the ever-recurring wars between Desmonds and Ormonds; as Desmond had committed high treason by calling the Spanish in to his aid, his defeat meant the confiscation of his lands to the Crown,

Raleigh in Munster, 1580 and onwards.

and Raleigh got twelve thousand acres of them, which he settled with yeomen from Devon. Gilbert, in his turn, made two attempts to colonize Newfoundland; but the crews of his emigrant ships thought of nothing but gold and Spaniard-fighting, and on the second voyage Gilbert himself was lost in a storm. Raleigh, seeing that we were by this time as much at war with Spain as we were ever likely to be, and therefore need not any longer admit the Spanish claims to the unoccupied North American mainland, sent his fleets further south than Gilbert had done, bidding them work upwards from the borders of Spanish Florida till they found a place worth settling in. They annexed the country about the Roanoke and Pamlico Sound, just the place for a colony of Raleigh's pattern—but they, too, had no taste for that sort of life, and while describing the land as "the goodliest isle under the cope of heaven," added that nothing but "the discovery of a good mine or a passage to the South Sea" could induce Englishmen to settle there. So after spending his treasure on five expeditions, each of which either abandoned the settlement or was murdered by the natives, Raleigh gave up Virginia in despair, having got from it only tobacco, which he at once introduced into England, and potatoes, which he distributed among the farmers on his Irish estates. All his enthusiasm and his able schemes failed because he committed them to others to carry out; with an ambition no less than Bacon's he had taken all statesmanship to be his province, and the results in each case were equally imposing and equally unpractical, and in the end equally fruitful of good when others developed them in detail.

Gilbert in Newfoundland, 1579 and 1583.

Raleigh's ships on the Roanoke, 1584-90.

But one memento of Raleigh's Virginia was still left

—the charter for its occupation granted to him by Elizabeth. This he passed on to a company of merchants, and they to another, on the chance that something might come of it. In 1602 reports came back to Plymouth of a fine country further north, well watered and with good harbours—which the southern settlement had not; and the Plymouth people, taking counsel with Hakluyt and the holders of Raleigh's charter, arranged for the formation of a big joint-stock company in two divisions, to which James issued a new charter of a stricter kind. The London branch of the company took the coast-strip from Cape Fear to the Hudson; the Plymouth branch was given lands from the Delaware to the Bay of Fundy; as these strips overlapped, neither branch was to make settlements within a hundred miles of the other. The King of his own personal act gave the charter, and appointed nominee councils at home and in America to keep order and administer English law.

Raleigh's Virginia charter.

Gosnold's explorations, 1602.

The Virginia Company, 1606.

The Londoners were first in the field, and in May 1607, landed their emigrants on the banks of the James River. At once the colony commenced to go to pieces; the new-comers were a shiftless lot, and were under the old illusions about gold and the South Sea passage. Then stood forth John Smith, a typical Briton in many other things besides his name, and took those vagabonds by the collar, bidding them till the ground and make friends with the Indians; he wrote also indignant letters to London, asking why they shipped goldsmiths and idlers to a land that needed carpenters and fishermen and farmers; it was he, in fact, who by his sturdy common sense and strong will pulled the baby colony through its

The London Company's colony.

John Smith.

years of teething, and gave England her firm grip on the North American mainland.

The Plymouth Company had for a long time no success at all. It tried to colonize the Kennebec valley, and the first winter killed the emigrants off; it sent John Smith out some years later, but he left behind him in those regions only the name he gave them, New England. At last, stirred up by the success of Virginia, which had just received an elective Assembly and a large share of self-government, the Company applied for a new charter (which gave them as boundaries New Jersey and Gaspé) with a monopoly of trade and power to sub-let its land to individuals or smaller companies. It was, however, dissolved in 1624, and soon afterwards the Plymouth colony bought up all English interests.

The Plymouth Company's failures, 1607.

John Smith names New England, 1614.

Its second charter, 1620.

B. New England.

Meanwhile in England the nation which Elizabeth had made was falling apart under the stress of religious quarrels. To Elizabeth herself, and for a long time to the mass of the nation, the church question was mixed up with the political question; those who upheld the Queen were churchmen, those who wished to see her deposed were dissenters. But when the collapse of the Armada had secured her supremacy, men felt able to air their own theories of church government without being traitors to their country. Neither Elizabeth, however, nor James after her, quite realized this change in the religious situation, and protests against the details of church discipline were punished as harshly as plots against the Crown. The split went deeper than mere details. Elizabeth's

The religious quarrels of Elizabeth's reign.

mariners could pray and fight and joke at once, and went with equal zest to church and theatre; but before her reign was over the movement had begun (and the hoggishness of James I.'s court gave it irresistible strength) which divided England into two camps, one full of fun and frivolity and vice, the other of stern, severe, and narrow men, to whom seriousness meant gloom, and piety was the grimmest of pleasures. These Puritans inherited the best of the Elizabethan virtues, it is true; but the man who dares not use the whole of his nature is fighting with one hand tied behind his back.

The Puritan movement.

It was a body of these men, belonging to the party known as Independents, because in church matters they wished each congregation to look after its own affairs without outside interference, that came to the Plymouth Company's rescue. The intolerance of James I. forced them out of England to live for a time in Holland, where they were treated kindly; but they were Englishmen, not happy under a foreign flag, and if the old country had not room for them they would make themselves a new one that should be English still. They negotiated with the London Company for a tract between the Delaware and the Hudson, formed themselves into a small joint-stock company, and sailed hopefully for the New World. But by this time the Dutch had busied themselves about American trading stations, and were building forts on the very land which these English emigrants proposed to take up. The *Mayflower*, steered too far north, found herself off Cape Cod; her captain declared he could not take her further south, and after six weeks of close scrutiny of the wintry and uninviting coast the Pilgrim Fathers made their first settle-

The Pilgrim Fathers

in Holland, 1608-20;

in the *Mayflower*, Sept. 6, 1620;

in New England, Dec. 22, 1620.

ment at Plymouth on Cape Cod Bay, obtaining a charter from the Plymouth Company before the end of the next year.

The example thus set was soon followed. In 1623 a Dorchester merchant-company made a settlement at Cape Ann, which five years later became the Puritan colony of Massachusetts. Gorges, Governor of Plymouth in England, who had been the moving spirit in the Plymouth Company, obtained for himself and a friend grants of land along the coast from the Merrimac northward, which grew into the colonies of Maine and New Hampshire. Plymouth (New England) explorers, intent on the fur trade, met the Dutch on the Connecticut River, and forced them back westwards, thus saving for England the colony to which that river has given its name. And religious disturbances in Massachusetts, whose people were nearly as intolerant in their way as James I. had been, drove two small parties of religious innovators to found the tiniest colony of all—Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.

Endicott's settlement, 1628.

Charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company, March 4, 1629.

Maine founded, 1622.

New Hampshire founded, 1622.

Settlement on the Connecticut, 1633.

Rhode Island colonised, 1636.

These five settlements, all originating within a period of sixteen years, peopled mainly by men of one type, whose religion was their politics, and cut off by France on the north and Holland on the west from their kin in Newfoundland and Virginia, were gradually welded into a fairly coherent mass, and became the "United Colonies of New England."* They lived a quiet life of their own, deliberately isolated from the

The welding of New England.

1643.

* Massachusetts, Connecticut, Plymouth and Newhaven first formed this confederation; but Massachusetts repeatedly usurped jurisdiction over New Hampshire and Maine, while Connecticut took the first opportunity of annexing Newhaven.

political troubles of Britain; they refused to support Charles I., but they also refused obedience to the Long Parliament, and treated with Cromwell as an ally on equal terms. At the Restoration they proclaimed Charles II. after a good deal of pressure, but made it quite clear that they intended to keep control of their own affairs. When they were hard pressed in the calamitous Indian war, known as King Philip's, from the chief who organized it—the first war of importance in which they were engaged, for their early relations with the Indian tribes were friendly on the whole—not even the destruction of more than half their towns and the slaughter of their best fighting men could compel them to seek help from the mother country. At last Charles II. decided to take strenuous action, and cancelled the Massachusetts charter; while his brother a year or two later treated the other colonies in the same way, and set a royal governor at Boston with absolute power over the whole country from Acadia to the Delaware. This tyranny was abolished, it is true, by the Revolution of 1688, and William III. arranged the divisions of New England as they stood thenceforth to the days of Independence. But in the eyes of British politicians a principle had been established; the stubbornest of colonies had submitted once to the annulling of their charters, and would henceforth have no legal excuse for not submitting again.

King Philip's War, 1675-6.

Charters cancelled, 1684-7.

Edmund Andros, 1688-9.

Plymouth absorbed in Massachusetts, 1691.

C. Other Mainland Settlements.

While England was thus securing the coast-land, France had no less persistently followed up the

lead of her explorers in the St Lawrence valley. Long before, indeed, there had been further south a Huguenot anticipation of New England; as the Pilgrim Fathers hoped to escape Stuart intolerance, so Coligny had sought a refuge for his persecuted co-religionists in the lands they named Carolina after Charles IX., the French king of their day. But the Spaniards of Florida (probably with that very king's approval) wiped that young colony out of existence, and the tolerance of a new king, Henry of Navarre, took away any reason for attempts to renew it.

The opening up of Canada.

The Huguenots in Carolina, 1562-5.

In the founding of Canada the one great name that stands out is that of Samuel Champlain. For good and for evil his work settled the destinies of New France. It was he who fixed the first French trading post in the pleasant meadows of Port Royal; he who, when hostile influences in Paris for a time broke up that colony, occupied the master-headland of Quebec, whose forts maintain dominion from Lake Superior to the Gulf; he who, still in search of a phantom strait that should give access to the Pacific,* opened the Ottawa route to Lake Nipissing and secured French control over the three great Western lakes that lead to the Mississippi valley. But it was he also who threw the weight of French support upon the Huron side in their perpetual quarrels with the Iroquois, and so made deadly enemies of the finest warriors in Eastern North America, whose raids were the New World's counterpart of the Zulu terror, while their defensive strategy and their skilfully-built fortresses have not

Champlain, 1603-35.

Port Royal founded, 1604.

Quebec founded, 1608.

* His discovery of Lake Champlain was not improbably due to the same search.

been matched by savages except among the New Zealand Maoris. And what Iroquois hostility meant to New France we shall see in the story of the frontier wars.

Champlain's colony was founded on the corner-stone of Quebec. Along the St Lawrence, between this post and Cartier's island of Montreal, French settlements soon began to extend themselves, and to alternate with mission-stations where friendly Indians received baptism and a certain amount of domestication. Richelieu handed the new province over to a company called "The Hundred Associates," and under its auspices Montreal was founded by an association of religious devotees; but the company had no Clives among its officers, and its whole territory outside the fort walls remained for years at the mercy of Iroquois raids, which were pushed even to the capture of Frenchmen in sight of Quebec itself. The statesmanship of Colbert and the youthful ambition of Louis XIV. roused Canada from this nightmare, and the colony became aggressive: the Iroquois were chastised, the Western lake-country formally annexed, the Mississippi * reached from the western shores of Lake Michigan, and the explorer La Salle, navigating it from the Illinois to its mouth, claimed all its valley for the King of France under the name of Louisiana.

The "Hundred Associates," 1627.

Montreal founded, 1632.

Colbert, 1661-83.

Joliet, 1673.

La Salle, April, 1682.

North of New England the English had never made very great efforts to obtain a foothold. Argall drove the French from Port Royal, and some years later the peninsula was given by James I. to one of his Scottish favourites, who began his work as colonizer by the distribution of titles among his friends and the scattering of Scottish river-names

1613.

Alexander's Nova-Scotian enterprise, 1623.

* Named Colbert by its discoverer.

over the map of Acadia. An English fleet took Quebec during the short French war of 1628-9, but Charles gave both Acadia and Quebec back to France to secure the payment of his wife's dower money. Gilbert had formally annexed Newfoundland, and Lord Baltimore made another attempt to colonize it forty years later; yet it remained for more than a hundred years merely a depôt for our fishing fleet. In Hudson's Bay the English ships which penetrated so far saw only a possible route to the Pacific, and so paid most attention to its northern shores and the strait into the Arctic Ocean; until a Frenchman who was looking for new districts for the fur trade found his enthusiasm chilly received at Quebec, and induced a Boston ship-captain to explore the bay's southern extremity, and, with the help of Prince Rupert, to build forts there. Between the still bright vision of a north-west passage and the reality of much beaver-skin, the Hudson's Bay Company was born; it started with a fine scheme of colonization and a charter as free as that of Massachusetts, but by the time it had placed the name of New South Wales on the map between Fort Nelson and James Bay, the settlement idea was abandoned, and its operations confined to a brisk trade in furs. "The Company," said a colonist in 1752, "have for eighty years slept at the edge of a frozen sea."

Treaty of St Germain-en-Laye, 1632.

Hudson's Bay discovered, 1610.

Gillam's voyages, 1664, 1668-71.

Hudson's Bay Company formed, 1670.

Rupertsland annexed.

The coast-line south of New England—the strip where the Plymouth and London Companies' grants overlapped—had been, perhaps for that reason, actively colonized by neither Company. Its intended occupation by the Pilgrim Fathers was defeated as we have seen; and even before

The Dutch in North America.

Newfoundland
(Eng. 1583)
New France
New England
New Netherlands (Netherlands)
(1614)
New Sweden (Swedish)
(1638)
Virginia
Louisiana
Florida (Sp. 1513)
Los Cayos (Bahamas)
(Sp. 1492)
Cuba
(Sp. 1493)
Española (Sp. 1492)
S. Juan (Porto Rico) (Sp. 1493)
Santiago (Jamaica)
(Sp. 1494)
Barbados (Br.)
(1605)
Trinidad (Sp. 1498)
Honduras
(Sp. 1502)
Nicaragua
(Sp. 1521)
New
Granada
(Sp. 153
Guiana
(Dutch
1604)
R. Amazon
NEW
SPAIN
New Castile
(Peru)
(Sp. 1
The Brazils
(Portuguese 1520)
Chile
(Spanish 1541-1552)
R. Plate (Sp.)
1516
MAP
to illustrate the
Early Partition
of
AMERICA
Walker & Boutall sc.

that time the Dutch, whose explorer Hudson* discovered in 1609 the river that bears his name, had built forts on the sites of the present Albany and New York. North of Albany they came across the Iroquois, full of anger at Champlain's attack on them, and ready to make friends with any white men who might help them to revenge. Traders themselves rather than settlers, they imported colonists from the Spanish Netherlands (Walloons), and welcomed Huguenots from France and refugees from New England intolerance, so that New Amsterdam (the Dutch town on Manhattan Island) became the most polyglot and incoherent of American towns. In 1655 they swallowed up a Swedish colony which Gustavus Adolphus had planted on the Delaware; but it was only a prelude to their own conquest by an English fleet in 1664, when the area they had claimed as the New Netherlands was divided by its new possessor, the Duke of York, into New York and New Jersey. The latter colony, falling partly into the hands of a Quaker community, gave William Penn the hint on which he suggested to his friend, King Charles, that forty thousand square miles of good American soil would be a good substitute for the £16,000 which the English Admiralty owed his father. The hint was taken, and the father's name affixed to the grant; and this creation in 1681 of the province of Pennsylvania made up the tale of English colonies until, fifty years later, Oglethorpe founded Georgia to relieve the debtors' prisons in England.

Dutch West India Company formed, 1621.

New Netherlands.

New Sweden, 1638-55.

Dutch colonies taken by England, 1664.

New Jersey separated, 1665.

Pennsylvania founded, 1681.

* Hudson was a Londoner, in Dutch employ, when he sailed up **Hudson River**, in English employ when he discovered Hudson's Bay.

For around Virginia, too, as around Plymouth in the years after 1620, new settlements had begun to bud. A Catholic refugee colony sprang up in Maryland, with Lord Baltimore as its founder and almost absolute lord. North Carolina spread from Albemarle, the home of a small party driven for religious reasons from the strictly Anglican Virginia; South Carolina was settled partly from Barbados, partly by an immigration from the north to Charleston, while the Huguenots at a later date contributed materially to the colony's population. Here for some years was seen in action the most fantastic of political comedies; Charles II. had presented the Carolinas to a few of his favourite nobles, and they determined to do everything in the best possible style by getting a great philosopher to draw up their constitution for them. One wonders whether Locke was serious when he devised the "Fundamental Constitutions" with their seignories, baronies, and precincts, their sliding scale of landgraves and caciques, and their attempt to make every one either an aristocratic landowner or a serf bound hand and foot to the land he lived on. The Constitutions would not work; their only result was to make the Albemarle settlers impatient of any government at all, and in twenty-four years they were formally abandoned without ever having been thoroughly enforced. In Virginia itself, which by the creation of all these daughter-colonies had been narrowed to its present coast-line, with indefinite power of inland extension west and north-west, the deliberate policy of the London Company had given the settlers so large a measure of constitutional freedom

Maryland founded, 1632.

Settlements at Albemarle, 1653; at Clarendon, 1665; at Charleston, 1670.

Huguenot immigration, 1687.

The "Fundamental Constitutions" of Carolina, 1668.

The transformation of Virginia.

Charter cancelled, 1624.

that James I. cancelled its charter; after which it grew by degrees into an Anglican and Cavalier colony, which upon the execution of Charles I. offered his son a refuge in America.* Europe affected all these Southern colonies to an extent unknown in New England; even in Virginia there was a Puritan rule, as well as a Cavalier reaction in 1660; those useful bees in other men's hives, the Huguenots, found work and rest on Virginian rivers; and at an earlier date a much less desirable class of immigrants had made their first appearance when, in 1619, a Dutch ship brought negro slaves to Jamestown.

Huguenots in Virginia, 1699.

Slaves first imported.

D. The West Indies.

The Moorish wars of Spain had forged her people into a stiff rather than a strong nation. Eight centuries of fierce conflict had taught them that no weapon was so powerful as a State under a single head inspired by a uniform religion, and they never forgot the lesson; to the latest days of her Imperial rule Spain unswervingly maintained her policy of centralization and of compulsory religious unity. They had conquered the Moors under the Cross in wars where quarter was rarely given; in America they remained Crusaders, and became more regardless than ever of the value of non-Christian human life. When, therefore, the Spaniard found himself in the West Indies faced by two native races, the gentle Arawaks in the islands west of Porto Rico and the fierce Caribs east and south of that island, the fate of the milder race was sealed. Haiti (then

Character of the Spanish conquerors.

The native races of the West Indies.

* It is an interesting question how far that offer, if accepted, might have been the germ of such a North American empire as Brazil, a royal refuge under similar conditions, became in South America.

called Hispaniola) became the chief Spanish settlement; the white settlers enslaved all the Arawaks they wanted, and set the others to gold-washing; when the natives died in thousands under this forced labour, or killed themselves to escape it, the Bahamas were depopulated to supply their place. When the supply of Arawaks gave out altogether, negroes were imported from Africa—a race sturdier at labour, but fiercer than the Caribs themselves, if once they escaped, to revenge themselves upon their enslavers.

Negro slavery introduced, 1511.

So when English rovers followed in the path of Drake and Hawkins to harry all Spaniards throughout the Caribbean Sea, they found the Bahamas empty, the Caribs in sole possession from Tobago to the Virgins, and the Spanish strength concentrated in the empires it had conquered—in Mexico, with an arm reaching Europewards along Cuba, Jamaica, and Hispaniola, and in Peru, with a similar arm stretched from Panama along the Spanish Main to Trinidad. The Orinoco Valley and all further east was in Carib hands, with a few Arawak settlements along the coast; and in the forests that edged the Main from Darien to Caracas prowled bands of Cimaroons (the escaped negroes), eager to help any enemy of Spain. This condition of affairs suggested the lines on which our colonization in this part of the world proceeded. Wherever Spain had a hold on the country Englishmen raided her cities and attacked her caravan-routes; wherever the country was open they made friends with the natives and hastened to claim it as English. Raleigh, as usual, was first in the work of settling. He personally explored the lower Orinoco and spread the fame of Queen Elizabeth abroad over the whole region of Guiana, that lies between the Orinoco and the Amazon; then he came back with

Spanish America as the English sea-rovers found it.

Guiana free from Spaniards.

Raleigh in Guiana, 1595.

reports that only the events of recent years have rendered credible. The soil was fertile, never tilled, waiting to yield great riches to its first cultivators; the natives, whom he treated with a friendly justice, were already loyal subjects of the Queen; there was gold, too, in abundance — some said there was the golden city of Manoa itself. The fame of Guiana went abroad.

The Dutch in Guiana, 1613.

The Dutch made haste to settle on the Pomeroon and Essequibo; James I. issued to Englishmen a grant of the country eastwards to the Amazon, and a colony was planted on the Oyapoc, which struggled on for many years.

1604.

But for the seamen who frequented the West Indies island homes were preferable to a mainland colony. Settlers on their way to the Oyapoc discovered and annexed Barbados; the Bermudas were colonized by the Virginia Company for the planting of tobacco; and when the death of James I. set Englishmen once more free to disregard the claims of Spain, a rapid immigration into the northern Carib islands soon eclipsed the prospects of prosperity in Guiana.

Barbados annexed, 1605.

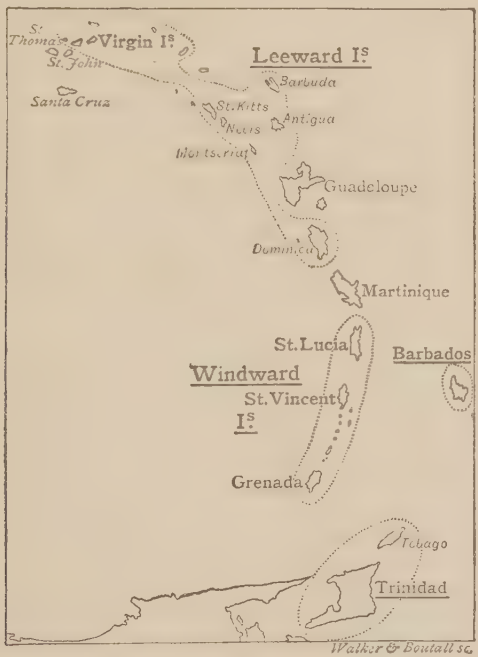
Bermudas annexed, 1612.

Of course England was not the only power that challenged Spain in the West Indies. Chartered companies, with conveniently indefinite charters, were in vogue during the seventeenth century; and the clash of jurisdictions which this indefiniteness brought about could not be minimised in the islands, as it was on the mainland, by the vastness of the territory to be occupied. A French company founded in 1626 claimed the same islands that Charles I. gave to the Earl of Carlisle in 1627. The Dutch West India Company had been incorporated some years before. Actual settlement in almost every case preceded the formal grant; and before the

Chartered companies in the West Indies.

1621.

century was half over, every Carib island had been annexed by one or the other of the three competing powers, some (and by no means the largest) harbouring two at once, as did St Kitts and Santa Cruz. The Bahamas, however, lying far to westward of the Spanish trade route, not so tropically fertile as the Carib islands,



and connected by position with the mainland colonies of North America, were left outside this cut-throat competition, and fell to England mainly by the enterprise of emigrants from the over-crowded Bermudas.

New Providence settled, 1666.

From St Kitts, where English and French settled

side by side in 1625, English emigration went on persistently to the neighbouring islands. On the north-west, Dutch buccaneers had seized on the Virgin group as their depôt for treasure and provisions; on the south, French adaptability to native habits had made colonists of that nation more welcome than the English among the large Carib population of the islands from Guadeloupe to St Vincent. Barbados did try to emulate St Kitts by occupying Tobago and St Lucia, but both expeditions ended in failure. The proud little colony was, however, successful in making itself notable at home by proclaiming Charles II. as King in 1650, and refusing (more pluckily than Virginia) to submit to the Commonwealth until its chief town had been actually bombarded and burnt.* This called Cromwell's attention to the West Indies, and he determined to enlarge the English territories in that quarter by an open invasion of Spanish America. One chance of peace he left to Spain—if she would throw her American ports open to English traders, no move should be made. On her refusal a fleet sailed against Hispaniola; beaten off there by playing Drake's game without his daring, its commanders consoled themselves with a descent on the half-empty island of Jamaica; and Cromwell made such good use of his bad bargain, enlisting settlers from Scotland, Ireland, New England, Barbados, and Bermuda, that Jamaica soon became a prosperous sugar-plantation and the centre of West Indian trade.

Spread of European settlements.

Cromwell's Spanish war.

Jamaica taken, 1655.

At last the spell was broken, and conquest became a legitimate method of colonizing. The capture of

* Barbados was always in the lead: it was the first colony to declare boldly (in 1651) that it was not bound by the decrees of a Parliament in which it was not represented; and the first (in 1691) to appoint an agent in England.

Jamaica began that long process by which the State of Britain, following in armed strength the progress of its merchants to every corner of the globe, enlarged itself into a world-wide empire. Standing midway between Elizabeth and the elder Pitt, Cromwell has a share in the glory of both; he made England a power in Europe, and set her on the road that led to the lordship of the oceans.

Cromwell as Empire-builder.

With Cromwell's Spanish war the West Indies entered on a forty years' fight in which all the nations represented there had their share. At one time France and England attacked Spain, at another France and Holland attacked England; then Spain and Holland fought France and England, then England and Holland fought France. In this medley islands changed hands as quickly as one changes partners at a ball, though with the grimmer accompaniments of bloodshed and much suffering. The net result, however, was very small: England by 1690 had taken Tobago and most of the Virgin Islands from the Dutch; Holland (as compensation for the loss of New York) had received from the English a colony which the Cavalier governor of Barbados had planted in Guiana on the Surinam. The most important result of all the fighting lay not in re-arrangement of territories, but in the suppression of the buccaneers.

The years of turmoil.

The Dutch get Surinam.

The Caribbean Sea had been the resort of sea-rovers ever since the first news reached Europe of Spanish treasure fleets sailing homewards from Mexico and Panama. Trade, however, was what most of the early rovers sought, although some of the more daring sacked Havana and seized a pearling fleet near the island of Margarita. During Elizabeth's reign English privateering formed a great part of the war with Spain; when the complaisance of her successor

The sea-rovers

bade fair to restore in England the Spanish ascendency of pre-Elizabethan days, the rovers found themselves cut off from the mother-country, and began to make their homes around the sea where they found their prey. Spain grumbled to the home governments, but could get redress neither from France nor from England; she had opened her mouth too wide, had arrogantly claimed the whole of the New World, all its treasure and all its trade —and for all her grumbling she got only the answer that she must defend her claims as best she might.

So there grew up among the West Indian islets that nest of hornets we know as the buccaneers. When times were hard they hunted cattle in Hispaniola, smoking their meat on the *boucans* * that gave them their name, or preserving it with the salt whose production made Tortuga so valuable a centre for them. In more fortunate moments they harried the fleets that voyaged between Mexico and Cadiz, or sacked the Spanish settlements of the Main. Flemings and French and English were among them, blended at first in a common brotherhood, but regaining their racial instincts during the years of international war that followed our capture of Jamaica—though even then they could act together on emergencies, so that the Welshman Morgan headed a joint raid on Panama, and Van Horn the Fleming led Frenchmen to the capture of Vera Cruz. But more often they hunted by nations, the Dutch harbouring in Tortola of the Virgins, the French in Tortuga above Hispaniola (from which they founded a French colony in the larger island), while the English swarmed along the coasts of Jamaica and enriched Port Royal in that island with the profits of their trade. Relics of their power on the mainland are to be seen in the British colony of Honduras,

The buccaneers.

British Honduras settled, *circ.* 1638.

* Wooden gridirons.

the remains of a series of (nominally) timber-cutting stations between Campeachy and the San Juan.* But while they had been valuable as a thorn in the side of Spain, when the other nations began to settle in civilized communities they were found to be mere disturbers of the peace; towards the end of the seventeenth century the romantic name of "buccaneer" gave place to the harsher one of "pirate," their leaders were hung instead of being made governors,† and the islands that had sheltered them dropped (all except Jamaica) into a humdrum existence, and have since remained unknown to fame. In a crude fashion their exploits had done good in breaking up the Spanish monopoly; their disappearance did more good still, for it was achieved by the final recognition of the principle that a nation is responsible for its citizens' acts beyond its own borders, and is bound to keep them in order wherever there is not already established a government sufficiently civilized for that purpose.

The actual work of colonization was fairly uniform throughout the English islands. Sugar, cotton, and tobacco were the staple products. The climate was tropical. The free white immigrants were sailors or fighting men as a rule, and had every inducement to keep up their warlike pursuits in an age when a fresh war might at any moment set their neighbours in the next island raiding their property. Bond-labour was therefore needful, and until the Royal African Company provided a steady supply of negroes, that bond-labour must be drawn from home, for the Caribs were useless. Cromwell shipped to

Colonizing the English islands.

Convict labour.

* For more than a hundred years this colony was a settlement of British subjects on Spanish soil. In 1798 the Spaniards tried to expel the timber getters, and were defeated: since that date, therefore, the colony has been ours by right of conquest, though not formally made a colony till 1862.

† Morgan became Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica.

Barbados his prisoners from Drogheda and Worcester; later on the great London prisons were drawn upon for a supply; kidnapping, carried on for some years on a great scale, filled up the gaps. Charles II. began his reign with a laudable imitation of Cromwell's policy. He established a Council of Plantations to supervise the whole extent of the colonies, with instructions to arrange for a common system of government and trade, to institute State-assisted emigration, and to bind the mother country and the colonies together by schemes for mutual help. The one idea gave birth to Transportation, the other to Navigation Acts, and the follower of Cromwell lived to be a pensioner of Louis XIV.; yet of all the Stuarts he was the one who did most for our colonies, and his charters sanctioned British enterprise along the Atlantic from the Guinea coast to the frozen shores of Hudson's Bay.

The Council of Plantations, 1661-74.

With the slave trade began the commercial prosperity of the British West Indies, until Jamaica planters rivalled in wealth the "nabobs" returning from Bengal. Every sugar-island became a national asset of great value, a weight to be thrown into this or that scale when treaties were adjusting the balance of power. St Lucia and Tobago especially served this purpose, becoming English or French as the fortune of war gave either nation the upper hand in the negotiations for peace. St Lucia in 1763 was considered to compensate France in large measure for the loss of Canada—Tobago, left to its Caribs by both nations at Aix-la-Chapelle, became English at Paris, French at Versailles, and English again in 1803. On the whole, the eighteenth-century wars resulted in a great British gain, adding to our empire all the Carib islands between Antigua and the Main,

The islands become valuable.

British Guiana acquired, 1796.

except Guadeloupe and Martinique, and transferring to it also the three western settlements of Dutch Guiana, Berbice, Demerara, and Essequibo.

With the slave trade we shall deal more particularly in the chapter on Africa; here it is worth while to look at the question from the planter's point of view. It is, of course, impossible to justify even the mildest form of slavery among men who rank human life as high as we have done for fifty years. But we are apt to forget that mere humanness was no great distinction two hundred (or, for the majority of people, even one hundred) years ago. In the West Indies more especially, occupied at first by Spaniards and haunted for a century by buccaneers, a man's life or his sufferings were held pretty cheap. The man who might at any moment be burnt or flayed alive himself felt no great remorse at having flogged or racked a negro who rebelled; there were Maroons enough in Jamaica, slaves of the old Spanish planters who escaped to the mountains at Cromwell's conquest, without increasing their numbers by making it a trivial thing for the English negro to desert to them. In the seventeenth century barbarous punishment was the lot of all offenders, white or black; in the eighteenth white bond-labour was almost extinct, white freemen were adopting for themselves the comparatively milder punishments which had just come into vogue in Europe, and the negro slave was left under the old code simply because his masters reckoned it was the only one that would appeal to his still savage nature. For the negro was, and where left to himself (as in Haiti) still is, a savage of a low type, and Uncle Tom is a very modern creation. The slave-owners treated their slaves very much as Australians treat their horses — good masters well,

Slave-labour.

Seventeenth-century feeling.

Eighteenth-century feeling.

brutal masters evilly. Real "nigger-driving" did not begin till the suppression of the slave-trade in 1807 cut off the supply of labour, and made men anxious to get all they could out of the slaves they already had. We are not called on to sympathize with the planter, but our blame should be laid upon the age, not on the individual. Who knows but that, if vegetarianism ever became a creed, our descendants might talk of us as sternly as we have talked of the slave-owner?

After all, we are called on to sympathize with the planter, but in a different fashion. In no age has it been good for a man to rank human beings with cattle, or to depend entirely on the work of others for a peaceful and luxurious life. For their first hundred years the white freemen of the islands were the war-lords each of his little community, justifying their existence by their leadership in defence against buccaneer or French attack—a tropical reproduction of the feudal system. During the next hundred years they did less and less for their money, absented themselves more frequently from the colonies, and became more and more absolutely dependent on the labour of their slaves. This strict drawing of the colour-line between workers and masters, so that freedom meant idleness as far as the negroes could see, had its effect when in 1833 slavery was abolished by Imperial Act. The negro was told he was free; he was also told he must work for the next six years as an apprentice, and begin to support himself and his family; and he quite failed to reconcile the two statements. Only in Barbados, where the population was dense and the planters had lived and worked on their estates, was there a speedy recovery from the drastic revolution in the labour market. Everywhere else the free negro refused

Effect on the planters.

Abolition of slavery, 1833; the negro degenerates,

except in Barbados.

altogether to labour for the planters, and lived as he could, becoming more degraded every day; and only the importation of coolies from India into Trinidad and British Guiana roused him again to a sense of the necessity for steady and reasonable work.

Coolie immigration.

As for the planters, their house had collapsed about their ears. Their source of labour was dried up; their property had vanished—for the twenty millions of compensation money represented but a third of its value; there seemed no chance of recovery. While the few stout-hearted ones were still struggling to regain their feet, English markets were suddenly thrown open to the sugar-planters of Cuba and Brazil. Presently European nations began to grow beet, to get sugar from it, and to encourage its production by bounties, and the West Indian sugar trade sank to one-fifth of its former value. In a few of the islands the opening up of new industries to some extent saved the situation—notably the fruit trade in Jamaica and the asphalt-lakes of Trinidad; but the West Indies remained for many years a warning to their sister colonies in the Empire — both of the unwisdom of putting all your eggs in the one basket, and of the dangers that haunt European races who cannot themselves work the lands on which they settle.

The plantations after abolition.

Free trade in sugar.

Sugar bounties.

E. The Old Colonial System.

We shall repeatedly notice the Spanish wish to centralize not only the administration, but the commerce of their colonies. In this course most of the European nations followed the lead of Spain, and even England, while she gave her early colonists more self-government than the rest, was not

Colonies looked on as sources of profit.

behind them in exercising a rigid control over inter-colonial and foreign trade. A colony, according to the then universal idea, should be a direct source of profit to the mother land: not necessarily of revenue to the government, but of gain to the merchant at home and so to the country at large. Spain and Portugal drew from theirs a supply of gold and silver; Holland (for her Companies were merely the State under another name) trafficked with much profit in the produce of her plantations; even France got some sort of revenue from her Canadian fisheries. The commercial theories of the day, moreover, were closely bound up with its politics, and it was thought well to narrow profits rather than to share an increase of them with probably hostile nations. The monopoly, therefore, of colonial trade, which Spain tried to enforce by limiting the ports of entry and dispatch, which Holland, Portugal, and France confided to specially formed companies, England arranged for in her western possessions by a series of Navigation Acts. In Africa and Asia, where she traded without colonizing, the Company system was found useful.

Navigation Acts were no new thing to the English merchant. Statutes of Richard II. and Henry VII. confined certain branches of trade to English-owned and English-built vessels. Elizabeth was not backward in a similar policy, and James I. included the colonies within its scope. But the first of the series which finally ruined Dutch trade and made our growing empire a single commercial organization was the Act passed by the Long Parliament in 1651. A glance at its provisions will show how vitally it affected the Dutch, then the common carriers of merchandize between all parts of the globe. Goods and produce of any country might be imported into

The Navigation Acts

of 1651;

Great Britain by ships of the producing country, or—to meet the case of inland states—of the country wherein the natural port of egress lay; all other traffic in imports of every kind must be carried on in English-built and English-owned ships, with English captains and crews at least three-quarters English. The colonies, of course, were reckoned as part of England. Charles II.'s first Act added other still more stringent provisions. The colonies were now forbidden to ship certain goods—tropical products, ship-material, iron, and skins—to any place except England; other goods might be exported freely so long as the vessels were English. Soon a new Act imposed prohibitory duties on goods entering the colonies from any but an English port, and presently another set of duties seriously hampered any intercolonial trade that might compete with direct English commerce. At a much later date it was enacted that no goods should be manufactured in America that might be made in Britain.

of 1660; of 1663; of 1673; of 1731.

In return for these restrictions the colonies received two valuable privileges; their goods paid lighter duties in the English market than those of foreign nations, while the goods they bought there were sent them free of the duties which the English consumer had to pay. The system, therefore, worked very well for all settlements which did not grow or manufacture the same articles that the mother country produced. If Jamaica planters had to dispose of all their sugar in England, at least they could outsell the foreigner who must pay 150 per cent. more duty. But the New Englanders, whose climate forced them to grow grain and spin wool as their cousins did at home, found the Acts hampering to commerce and almost prohibitive of their manufactures. Still the system as a whole,

Colonial privileges.

until overdone by the zeal of Grenville, was not only more liberal than the colonial arrangements of other European nations, but represented an honest and a three-parts successful attempt at commercial federation of the Empire.

F. Eastern Trade and Stations.

Work of the Portuguese.

On the eastern side of the Pope's line we are confronted with colonial work of an entirely different kind, if, indeed, it can be properly called "colonial." The Portuguese, like the Spaniards, were intent on reaching India. But the fact that they did reach it, and that they were Portuguese, completely altered the situation. They were traders seeking for the most famous trade-lands in the world; they were seamen working along a sea route, caring little for the conquest of territory so long as they could monopolize the commerce of the gorgeous East. Year by year as their adventurous ships crept down the African coast,

1445. 1484. 1486.

past the deserts of the Western Sahara, past the fever-stricken jungles of Guinea, past the stormy headland of Cape Voltas, they planted forts here and there to tap the inland trade of the Sudan and the Congo valley; but always they remembered the

Diaz reaches Algoa Bay, 1487.

commands of their beloved prince,* and passed each year with eagerness their limit of the year before, till Diaz found himself on a coast that bore away north-eastward, and da Gama climbed past

1497-8.

Mozambique and threw his vessels into open ocean to light upon the long-sought Indian shore. Then Portugal with all her strength fastened

* Henry the Navigator, the first organizer of systematic exploration in modern times.

upon the prey she had so honourably won. Almeida broke the power of the Egyptian Sultan, whose fleet (provided by Venice*) was striving to drive the intruders from the Indian Ocean; Goa, Ormuz, Malacca, were the trophies of Albuquerque. Ceylon fell next, and Sumatra, and the Spice Islands; Sofala and Mozambique and Mombasa were already annexed; for eighty years the Indian Ocean was a private lake of Portugal's owning. Then dynastic troubles betrayed the little kingdom into the power of Spain, and the whole structure of her empire collapsed. Spain wanted gold, not trade; and Spain had a bitter enemy who wanted the very trade which Spain despised. So what had been Portugal's became Holland's,† and hard on the heels of the Dutch came the roving English, stirred by the achievements of Drake, Cavendish, and Lancaster. The struggle that followed was a fierce one, marked by brutalities such as the Amboyna massacre. All through the seventeenth century fortune swayed this way and that, regardless of war or peace at home; at last the combatants drew apart, still glowering at each other, and England clung to the Indian mainland, while Holland drew close her chain of forts round Ceylon and the islands of Malaysia. Portugal, which had joined again in the fight directly she regained her freedom, emerged from it stripped of all her Indian possessions except Goa.

Fight at Diu, 1509.

1510-15.

1521.

1505-7.

1580.

1577-80.

1586-88.

1591-4.

1623.

* Venice was aghast at the invasion of her trade monopoly, and the Sultan of Egypt angered at the certain loss of his transit dues.

† The Netherland merchants had for a long time purveyed Indian goods to central Europe, obtaining them from Lisbon. After 1580 they at first tried unsuccessfully to open up a trade route round the north of Europe, but in 1595 despatched their first fleet round the Cape of Good Hope.

Portugal was too small a kingdom to supply the waste inevitable in early colonization. Even in 1441 slaves were being imported to fill up gaps in the home population. But Holland had all North Germany to draw on.

This was the realm of the great Companies, English, French, and Dutch. France and Holland, as we have seen, did a good deal of their American work also by Companies, which England, the colonizer, found in that part of the world but a cumbrous device: in the East, where trade alone was in question, the English Companies grew and prospered. The "Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies," which was founded in 1600, based its operations largely on the work of Drake: it was he who in 1579 made that treaty with the Sultan of Ternate which gave the English their first footing in the Malay Archipelago, and he who captured at the Azores, in 1587, the great Portuguese carrack, *St Philip*, whose papers disclosed the long-kept secrets of the East India trade. In 1592 the capture of the *Madre de Dios* threw into English hands the Register of Portuguese Trade in the East Indies, and on its contents the promoters of the London Company based their application to Elizabeth. During the Company's first expedition a "factory" or trading-house was established at Bantam in Java; when the Dutch destroyed this in 1621, headquarters was removed to Surat in Western India (where a factory had been settled in 1612), and the Company's hold on Malaysia was greatly weakened; in 1684 all the Far Eastern factories were abandoned except that at Bencoolen in Sumatra, and British mercantile effort was concentrated on India. Here the Company had in 1640 built a fort at Madras, and in 1654 made it the seat of a Presidency: in 1669 it acquired Bombay from Charles II., and transferred the Surat Presidency thither in 1685; while the Presidency of Bengal, created in 1681, was in 1707 centred in Calcutta, where in 1696 Fort William had been built. The London Company's success led to

The Honourable East India Company.

1603.

the formation, in 1698, of an "English Company trading to the East Indies"; but by 1709 the two had been completely amalgamated, and were henceforth known as "The Honourable East India Company."

The Dutch Company (chartered in 1602, with trade-monopoly east of the Cape of Good Hope and west of Magellan Straits), by unifying Dutch enterprise in the East, enabled little Holland to oust Spain and repel Portugal: it became the English Company's most dangerous rival, and for many years excluded our traders from all lands east of Sumatra. The French indulged in no less than five companies within forty years; only the last, founded by Colbert, attained any great measure of success. Denmark and Austria each made two efforts to share in the lucrative Eastern trade, and in the next century Sweden and Prussia formed companies for trade with China: but only the English, Dutch, and French enterprises are worth remembering. Foreign Companies.

Along the African coast British traders did little of permanent importance until, to secure the safety of the trade-route to India, we were forced in 1796 to occupy the Cape Colony. Everywhere we found ourselves as a matter of course following in the tracks of the Portuguese. These bold discoverers, but somewhat over-cautious mariners, were never fond of a Cape that seemed always to keep its stormiest weather for them; and when their first great Indian viceroy, Almeida, was killed in a quarrel with Hottentots on the shores of Table Bay, they shunned the whole coast as one infested "with tigers and savages and stranger-killers." Much later, when the three Companies began their regular trafficking between Europe and India, the length of that sea voyage was found unhealthy, and search was made for some half-way house where the 1510.

ships might refit and get fresh stores. Lancaster called at the Cape in 1601, and from 1605 onwards it was a regular port of call for our East Indian vessels. In 1614 a ship was sent out with reliefs, provisions, and stores to meet the homeward-bound fleet in Table Bay, doing odd jobs of whaling and sealing while it waited: and in the two following years small parties of convicts were set ashore there to fare as best they might. In 1620 an English expedition formally annexed the Cape, but get no further good of it; for in St Helena, well out in mid-Atlantic, the English Company now found what they wanted ready to their hand. The Portuguese had already, in 1502, made just such a settlement there—"it is," said one voyager, "an earthly paradise for the Portingall ships." It stood fair in the track of homeward bound ships: the sailor set his sails after rounding the Cape, and the south-east trade-wind did the rest. There was at first a little trouble with the Dutch, who had claims to the island as vague as ours to the Cape: but since 1673 St Helena has been undisturbedly British.* Mauritius, which for many years served the French Company as its half-way house, and more than once became the base of French operations against British India and against our Eastern trade, fell into our hands during the long Napoleonic war; and Aden, that alone of all seaports on the Indian Ocean had repelled the invading Portuguese, became important to us directly Napoleon conceived the idea of reaching India through Egypt, and was finally annexed from Bombay in 1839.

St Helena occupied, 1651;

Mauritius 1810;

Aden, 1839.

Nearer home, along the shores which Prince Henry's men had so slowly opened up in the fifteenth century,

* In 1906 the garrison was withdrawn, for the first time since the occupation in 1673.

Englishmen were active in the trade for ivory, gold, and Guinea pepper (the "grain" which gave its name to the Grain Coast of old maps). "Old Mr William Hawkins of Plymouth" was our pioneer on that route, and his son, the more famous John Hawkins, made several voyages to West Africa. His trafficking, indeed, was largely in slaves for the Spanish West Indies; but no second English slave-trader made an appearance for many years after. Four chartered companies were formed under Elizabeth and the early Stuarts, and the third built forts on the Gambia and at Cormantine, near the present Cape Coast Castle, besides sending an expedition up the Gambia to look for Timbuctoo. But for the most part they confined themselves to the trade in natural products and to the search for gold, hoping eventually by way of the Gambia to reach the goldfields of the Upper Niger.

About 1530.

1562 and onwards.

Exeter Co., 1588. Taunton Co., 1592. African Co., 1618. African Co., 1631.

In India itself our Company's work was for a hundred and fifty years little more important. Not long after the first Portuguese ships reached Calicut there happened one of the periodical invasions from the north-west to which India has been subject from time immemorial. Baber, the Chagatai Turk, came down out of Afghanistan with twelve thousand men and overthrew the dynasty then reigning at Delhi, founding in its place that of the Moguls. His early successors consolidated the empire he had won: Akbar the tolerant, Jehangir the luxurious, Shah Jehan of the gorgeous imagination, were lords of a fairly peaceful and coherent dominion that stretched from Kandahar to Calcutta and from the Vindhya Hills to the Himalayas. Aurangzeb, Shah Jehan's son, was more ambitious: he stormed through the Deccan, uprooting all the ancient Hindu kingdoms of the south,

Affairs in India.

Baber's invasion 1525-6.

and so was able to call himself the master of all India; but his conquests had really raised against the whole Mogul dominion every form of ruthless fanaticism which the intolerance and ambition of their enemy could excite in a warlike and bigotedly religious people. The Mahratta power, more especially, became almost a centre of Hindu patriotism in resisting Aurangzeb: and from his time dates the immitigable bitterness between Mohammedan and Hindu that even to-day flames up into religious riot through all the restraints of civilization and the bands of British law.

Rise of the Mahratta power under Sivaji, 1746.

The European companies hung on the outskirts of the tumult, quarrelling with each other over the valuable but precarious trade, and treated by the Mogul Emperors with the same half-contemptuous, half-irritated neutrality that we are apt to bestow on the squabbles and the trade competition of Syrians and Chinese.

Position of Europeans in India.

CHAPTER II

ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN AMERICA.

A. The Land and the Natives.

We have now come to a time when colonial questions really begin to enter into English history. For more than a hundred years — years of continual war and rumours of war, broken only by spasmodic peaces—Britons over sea exert a more and more dominating influence upon the foreign policy of the mother-country. The three central wars of the eighteenth century, between 1739 and 1783, are intimately connected with that group of settlements along the North American seaboard which to Englishmen of the day were *The* Colonies. But for fifty years before the first of these wars there had been active preparation for the great struggle; the conquest of Acadia prefigured and made necessary the conquest of Canada, and the strategy of 1759 had been anticipated during 1690 in every point but success.

Colonial influence on European wars.

We have already seen how five European nations shared the trade and the territory opened up by the enterprise of Henry the Navigator. Three of them, Spain, Portugal, and Holland as the spoiler of Portugal, exploited the tropical world; France and England, both at the time real colonizers, worked side by side on the one temperate region which had been added to the map. During the latter half of the seventeenth century

when their settlements were really shaping themselves and feeling their way towards each other across the intervening wilderness, the policy of their rulers in Europe prohibited open enmity in America. But when at the Revolution of 1688 England not only cut loose from French protection, but openly challenged French hostility, Canada and New England were only too glad to gratify with straightforward fighting the bitterness which they had till then been forced to indulge under cover of Indian raids.

The beginnings of hostility.

As we shall find again and again in this history, the long struggle was very much affected by the physical geography of its theatre. This was made up of two large river-valleys and a strip of coast-line, all running generally in a north-east and south-west direction.* The French held the mouths of the river-valleys, and claimed therefore jurisdiction over the whole of them; the English were in actual occupation of the whole coast strip from the Atlantic inland along the streams which run into it. Between the two nations stretched a low but difficult mountain range, which, where it divided the Ohio valley from Pennsylvania and the southern colonies, is a fairly compact chain of parallel ridges known as the Alleghanies; where New York and New England abutted on the St Lawrence valley, it is very much more broken up, and goes by a dozen different names. It is with this part that we shall have most to do; for when the French in Canada and the colonists of New England wished to get at each other, they must pass either through or round the intricacies of the dividing range.

The geography of the fighting ground.

And there was one road through the confusion so

* We have to deal with the Ohio-Mississippi valley rather than with the whole watershed of the Mississippi.

simple and direct that it became at once and for more than a hundred years remained the highway of attack. The Richelieu River, entering the St Lawrence just below Montreal, gives easy access southwards to Lake Champlain, from whose lower edge Lake George hangs like an ear-ring. From the southern end of Lake George it is but a few miles across to the Hudson, whose broad stream prolongs the southward line to the defences of New York. Along that line, and close to the water-parting, one finds most of

The Hudson-Richelieu line.

the well-known forts and battlefields—Plattsburg, Crown Point, Ticonderoga, Fort William Henry, Saratoga, West Point. A second route of invasion was provided by the Mohawk River, up which from its junction with the Hudson canoes could be

The Mohawk-Ontario line.

taken close to Lake Oneida, and so down into Lake Ontario. The third line of attack avoided the mountains altogether by using the sea route between the New England coast and the mouth of the St Lawrence.

The sea-line.

Quite as important as the shape of the land were its native inhabitants. Roughly speaking, the French were in alliance with a number of scattered clans belonging to the Algonquin family, about 90,000 in number. They stretched along the whole dividing range from Nova Scotia round to Tennessee, and held territory as far north-west as Lake Michigan. By their aid in later years the French were able to attack simultaneously the long line of English colonies, harrying Maine and Virginia alike with savage massacre. The tribes in the English alliance mustered less than 10,000; but they held a commanding position across the lines of invasion, breaking the Algonquin chain just where its continuity would have been most fatal to the English. Among them, moreover, were numbered the Iroquois, most daring and dreaded of all North American Indians, whose raids were known beyond the Mississippi, while for many years the whole of Upper Canada had been emptied of its Huron tribes (their own blood relations) to serve as their hunting-grounds. The French, in spite of them, replaced their victims in the ancestral domain; and in revenge through all the wars of the eighteenth century the Iroquois remained faithful allies of the English power.

The American Indians.

Over such country and with such allies the Canadian and the New England settlers wrestled up and down for seventy years. To some extent we may include the colonists of New York among the English forces; but the more southerly settlements took little note of the struggle till it was nearly over, while

The European combatants;

Georgia, a late arrival in the family, occupied itself with troubles of its own on the frontier of Spanish Florida. Without their help the New Englanders had a great preponderance in numbers over their opponents, mustering nearly 100,000 inhabitants between the Hudson and the Kennebec, while the whole Canadian population was not more than 12,000 scattered over Acadia, Cape Breton Island, and the St Lawrence valley from Quebec to Niagara. The 12,000, however, were under one head, many of them wandering hunters by profession, and always ready to fall in with the habits and ideas of their Indian allies. The 100,000 were split up into five bodies, almost as jealous of each other as of the common enemy; war meant to them perhaps the destruction, in any case the neglect, of their farms; and in their utmost need they could never quite make up their minds to trust the Indians, or treat them with even the most dignified friendliness.* On the other hand, the British colonies were in war-time good bases of supply, since so much of them was given over to agriculture: the French colony depended very largely on imported food. The best French farmland was in the Kaskaskia valley—in what is now Southern Illinois, between St Louis and the Ohio junction; a secure route to the Upper Mississippi was therefore a vital necessity to Canada. Many Indian clans in the French alliance—notably the Illinois and the Cherokees—were farmers and cattle-breeders.

British and French.

While English colonists went out to New England to secure greater freedom, both religious and civil, than

* See "Observations on the late and present Conduct of the French," by William Clarke of Boston (1755) for a contemporary statement of the situation. By that time the British population had increased to 1,000,000, 200,000 of them in Massachussetts. "The English, we know," Joncaire wrote to Washington in 1753, "can raise two men to our one; but their motions are too slow and dilatory to prevent any undertaking of ours."

they could enjoy at home, the settled districts of Canada were as strictly ruled as France itself. Trade restrictions were as severe as the English, and were better enforced: restrictions on the acquisition of land by farmers were far more severe. Between 1663 and 1673 210 *seigneuries* (big landed estates held by absentees) were created; large grants of land were also made to religious organizations, and officials of the Government made a "ring" in the grain trade.

B. Indian Wars.

For a long time there had been petty disputes between the French and the Iroquois, marked on both sides by diplomatic cunning that almost amounted to treachery; and whenever it seemed probable that some French envoy might win over the wavering tribes, messages came hastily from Albany to keep them firm in the English alliance. The contest was not without its humour, the English governor vaunting his rum against the Frenchman's brandy, and soothing him with a gift of oranges which unfortunately arrived all rotten.

Preliminary fencing.

English traders, meanwhile, pushed up and across Lake Erie, where the French built a fort at Detroit to stop them, and there was already a rumour that Virginian settlers had designs on the Ohio. When in 1689 Count Frontenac arrived at Montreal with news of the English Revolution and consequent war with France, he was able at once to hurl three Indian war-parties upon the half-unready colonists. New York was his chief aim, both because of its close alliance with the Iroquois, and because by occupying the Hudson valley he would cut the English colonies in half and give France a short and almost ice-free route to the

Detroit fortified, 1686.

War of the Grand Alliance, 1689-97.

Frontenac's invasion, 1690.

To face page 61.

Lakes; but the New Englanders were not spared, on the pretext that they were in revolt against their lawful king, James II. The success of these raids was complete. The injured colonies were driven by them into a lax confederation, which attempted to retaliate by attacks on Quebec and Montreal; but they had no leader, nor any real unanimity — the expedition against Montreal wasted itself in futile farm-burnings, and that against Quebec, after being delayed in favour of a useless capture of Port Royal in Acadia, was thrown away by the incapacity of its commander. The Iroquois were disgusted at the weakness of men who had been urging them against the French; for a time they fought on by themselves, besetting the banks of the Ottawa, down which must come all trade from the west for Montreal; but they were wise enough to recognise Frontenac's superior power, and gradually drew back into a position of armed neutrality. Still they protected the northern borders of New York, and steadfastly refused to make peace at Quebec unless the English were included in the treaty.

Congress at New York, 1690.

Port Royal taken by Phips, May 11.

Failure before Quebec, October.

The brunt of war now fell heavily on New England. War, perhaps, one can hardly call it, for the tale is mainly of savage raids upon the little farming settlements that dotted the woods of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. It is from these years of sudden torture and massacre that the American of to-day inherits his hatred for "Indian vermin"; though even the worst cruelties of the Abenaki and Huron "converts" were abetted and aped and exceeded by the French.*

Indian raids on New England.

Before the Peace of Ryswick restored to each side what it possessed in 1689, Frontenac was able to record

* Frontenac offered rewards for English scalps---but he was never quite sure that all the scalps he paid for were English.

the recapture of Acadia, the destruction of the English fishing settlements in Newfoundland and their principal fort on Hudson's Bay, and the freeing of Canadian trade with the West from all Iroquois attacks. He had, in fact, established French Canada as the dominating power on the North American continent, supreme from Cape Race to New Orleans. What warriors could do to maintain that supremacy was done: but to fight the advancing and increasing numbers of the English settlers, settlers were required. France had them—during these very years she was pouring out hundreds of families to populate the West Indies and the Cape Colony. But these were her neglected children, the Huguenots: and the French monarchy had no mind to repeat the experience of its neighbour and allow Canada to become a French Massachusetts. The Edict of Nantes had been revoked because it seemed to Louis XIV and his ministers increasingly important that all France should be of one religion, and French colonies could not be expected. So the Huguenots, the one great colonizing body that France has produced, spent their nation-making powers under other flags: and Canada was left with its serfs and trappers to build weak dykes against the incoming sea of English trade and tillage.

D'Iberville expels the English from Newfoundland and Hudson's Bay, 1697.

France declines to use Huguenots as colonists.

In 1702 the war broke out afresh in Europe, blown into flame by a desperate scheme of Louis XIV. After much intriguing he had secured his grandson's accession to the throne of Spain, hoping thereby to reinforce his own strength with all the trade of the Netherlands and all the gold of Spanish America. He knew well that no peaceful arts would induce his arch-enemy, William III, to acquiesce in this arrangement, and so drove England willy-nilly into war by openly recognizing the Pretender as its rightful king.

War of the Spanish Succession, 1702-13.

Thence followed that war "of the Spanish Succession," which we know best from the victories of Marlborough: but the influence of America, too, was present in the minds of English statesmen.* It was the era of the Union with Scotland, and men talked bitterly of the ruin that had overtaken a Scottish colony at Darien. The alliance with Portugal, too, was intended to counterbalance Louis' gains from the colonies of Spain; the inflow of Peruvian silver was to be met by an inrush of gold from Brazil. For Anne's ministers the interest of the war was almost purely European, but New England was not quite neglected. The Queen herself paid for the equipment of four Massachusetts regiments, and in 1711 Marlborough himself was deprived of valuable troops, that might have ended the European war, for the purpose of making an attack on Quebec. Not till the days of Pitt, however, was England to understand that America needed good generals as well as good troops; the expedition failed miserably, and a companion raid on Montreal was abandoned in consequence. Still, the New Englanders had deserved better help. Three times, under the stress of Abenaki and Huron savagery, they had struck at Acadia, the one French possession which they could easily reach; the third time they took the chief town, Port Royal, with the regiments the Queen had armed, and gratefully re-named their capture Annapolis. Nor were they forgotten in the treaty of peace. Canada had always been Louis'

Union of England and Scotland, 1707.

Failure of attack on Quebec, Aug. 1711.

Capture of Port Royal, Sept. 1710.

* Note the stipulations in the England-Holland-Austria treaty of 1701 that—(*a*) English or Dutch captures in Spanish America should remain theirs; (*b*) France should never be allowed to master or even to trade with Spanish America; (*c*) if Austria absorbed the Spanish Empire, the existing privileges of trade should be secured to England and Holland. France, on the other hand, in August of the same year secured the Assiento (see p. 276) from Spain.

favourite colony, but Acadia was forced from him; the cession of an undefined northern region round Hudson's Bay was of less importance to him, since his officers had by now secured the control of the Great Lakes with a fort at Detroit, and contrived some sort of organization in the huge province of Louisiana, that stretched from Lake Erie to the Mexican Gulf and from the Alleghanies into the unknown West. From a strategic point of view France was still dominant, and the acquisition of Acadia by Britain did but add one more easily-raided settlement to the long weak line of her Atlantic possessions.

Treaty of Utrecht, Apr. 11, 1713.

C. The Treaty of Utrecht and its Results.

[COLONIAL TERMS OF THE TREATY.

(*a*) *Hudson's Bay* and *Straits* to remain British.

(*b*) *Acadia* "with its ancient boundaries," and *Newfoundland*, to be handed over to Britain; but French fishermen allowed to dry their fish on the Newfoundland coast from Cape Bonavisto to Point Riche.*

(*c*) French in Canada not to interfere with the "Five Nations" (Iroquois) subject to Britain.

(*d*) *St Kitts* to be wholly British.

(*e*) Spain to cede to Britain *Gibraltar* and *Minorca*.

(*f*) *Assiento* to be given to Britain, also privilege of trade with the Spanish Main (one ship a year only).

(*g*) No other powers to be allowed to trade with the Main, and no Spanish colonies to be alienated.]

As a treaty of peace this Treaty of Utrecht is a

* One year's fisheries were, about 1745, worth to France nearly a million pounds.

great paradox. No treaty made between civilized states has ever embodied more challenges to war. Of the Assiento we shall speak at length in the chapter on Africa. We retained Gibraltar,* and with it for a hundred years the bitter enmity of Spain. While reclaiming Newfoundland, we left to France just such carelessly defined privileges as must always be, and have been ever since, a running sore on the colony's prosperity. We gained Acadia "with its ancient boundaries," and the vagueness of the phrase sanctioned forty years of massacre among Acadian forests. And we bound France over to recognize the Iroquois territory as under the dominion of the King of England —and stretched that expression at last to include every foot of ground that might have known an Iroquois raid, every bay that had seen the furrow of their daring war canoes.

The Treaty full of causes for war.

Yet this explosive instrument—more like an infernal machine than a treaty of peace—secured for Great Britain the longest spell of tranquillity she enjoyed between the Armada and Waterloo. This arose from two causes. In the first place, the points in dispute were nicely apportioned between France and Spain: and the death of Louis XIV in 1715 severed the alliance between these nations and turned them into suspicious neighbours. Louis XV was a minor, and the Regent was only too glad to trust his naval foreign policy in English hands: he even forbade French trade with the South Seas in order to secure English support for the succession of the House of Orleans to the French throne, if the young king should

Reason why war did not follow.

* George I. in 1721 promised to give the fortress back to Spain, and Stanhope had already declared it was only a burden. But Parliament and the people were wiser.

The real value of Gibraltar, of course, was that by holding it we cut the French navy in half.

die. It was this complaisance which so weakened the French fleet as to be the real cause of the loss both of India and Canada to France. In the second place, the British ministers, whose fortunes were bound up with the Hanoverian succession, dreaded a French-supported Jacobite invasion too much to insist on any point of dispute which might lead to a quarrel with France. As for Spain, if she provoked a war, the British fleets were powerful enough to paralyse her both in the Mediterrannean and the Atlantic, and so hold her struggling but innocuous till she was tired. The danger was, after 1715 as before, a Franco-Spanish league: till that came about, Britain could watch with little concern the vagaries of the continental states.

Meanwhile, British commerce flourished mightily. A king had made the war, but merchants made the peace—as the Tories found when next year they tried to negotiate a Commercial Treaty with France, of which the merchants did not approve.* And among the merchant adventurers who were encircling the globe with their trade-routes there appeared a great company — the South Sea Company, established by Harley in 1711—which hoped to exploit the Spanish markets in South America. The British Government gave all possible help, turning over to the Company such scanty privileges of trade with the Spanish Main as had been wrung from the kings at Utrecht. Year by year, lawfully and still more by smuggling, the company's business increased: till in 1719 a gigantic scheme was formed for lending the Government enough money to pay off the scattered National Debt of £31,000,000, saving it 1 per cent in interest, and giving it a bonus of

Commercial expansion.

* Yet to secure French assent to this treaty the British Government had made at Utrecht the compromise about Newfoundland which has never since ceased to give trouble.

£7,500,000 for the privilege of doing so. The transaction in itself was feasible;* the very possibilities of the scheme, indeed, proved its ruin. For people rushed to buy shares, at first in this, then in any company that promised big dividends: £100 shares went up to £1,000, and money was flung at the heads of the wildest projectors. The South Sea directors took alarm, and procured the downfall of a large number of bogus speculations. But in that whirl of excitement nothing could be done steadily: with the fall in other shares the Company's own shares fell as quickly and unreasonably as they had risen: and the directors found themselves helpless before a raging crowd of disappointed speculators, whose losses they were forced partly to recoup from the wreck of their own estates.

The "South Sea Bubble," June-Aug., 1720.

At this crisis a great financier was needed, and Walpole was found. He remitted the bonus of £7,500,000 and gave the Company a little breathing time, so that it was found in the end that its shares had never even fallen below par. It seemed to England that Walpole had saved the State, and from that time began his long supremacy over Parliament and the nation, only to be broken at last by the troubles of that same South Sea trade, to whose vicissitudes he owed his advance.

Rise of Walpole; his supremacy, 1721-39.

Coming into power by such means, Walpole could not but feel how dangerous to genuine commercial success was the existence of monopolies. It was the prospect of a huge monopoly that had so fatally inflated the price of the South Sea

His free-trade policy.

* The Company was to lend to the State at 5 per cent: State creditors, instead of their former 6 per cent, were to get 4 *plus* a share in South Sea profits.

Company's shares, and when things were quiet again, and the rescued Company set to work to utilize its privileges, their results were every year more disappointing. It is, therefore, easy to understand that Walpole's colonial policy tended always to remove restrictions on trade, such as the conventional attitude of all European mother-countries still imposed on their colonies. Our North American colonies more especially felt the burden of these restrictions, because they were the only manufacturing colonies then in existence. From Canada, from Mexico, from the Spanish Main, the exports were mainly of raw material—skins or precious metals; from New England the colonists would gladly have sent not merely wool and iron, but the myriad products of wool and iron worked up among their own people. The English merchant's theory of trade was quite different; the colonists existed to supply him with raw material, to take from him his manufactured goods; if the colonists had other aspirations they must be made to understand the truth. The merchant, in fact, was no logician; he held himself to be far above a Spaniard, but forgot the corollary that his New England countrymen was equally far above a Mexican.

The mercantile theory of colonization.

Walpole made no attempt to teach him better. He was in power during dangerous times, and he saw no politician as able as himself to preserve the peace which England needed. The welfare of the country, he thought, demanded that he should retain power somehow—and certainly the history of fourteen years after his fall confirmed his belief. A man in such a position must be an opportunist; he must be ready to sacrifice his most cherished ideas about law-making, and to pass laws that violate them,

Walpole's opportunism.

so long as he can keep a hold on the administration of the government. So Walpole's colonial policy was framed on the same lines as all the rest of his work; he pacified the merchants by making laws as restrictive as they desired, and soothed the colonists by letting those laws remain as nearly as possible a dead letter. When the Pelhams came into power they continued the same policy, from sheer laziness rather than from conviction. And so the theory and the practice of Britain's colonial relations were separated more and more, till a sudden attempt to wrest them back into coincidence brought about the loss of America. Walpole, with his South Sea Bubble experience, created the situation that ended in the American Revolution.

There was much else to be done in the intervening fifty years before such an ending could be possible. The South Sea Company and its half-legitimate trade with Spanish colonies had other mischief to do. The family relations between the French and Spanish Crowns were still capable of wrecking European peace. In 1733 the Franco-Spanish league was revived; the two Bourbon powers were to combine against Austria and England, damaging in every possible way Austria's supremacy in Germany and Italy, and England's supremacy in commerce. Walpole, it seems, knew of this:* but he knew also that, while France had no immediate desire to crush England, the Spanish Queen had a bitter hatred of Austria, and the alliance was therefore likely to threaten Austria first and leave England alone for some time. So more urgently than ever he insisted on peace, every year of

The Bourbon Family Compact, 1733.

Walpole is for peace;

* "If the Spaniards had not private encouragement from powers more considerable than themselves, they would never have ventured on these insults and injuries."—*Speech in Parliament, March* 30, 1738.

which added to the wealth of the country, and made more popular the Hanoverian dynasty that began to seem synonymous with prosperity.

But the nations were too strong for their rulers. With the fall of the Stuarts personal attachment to a dynasty had died out in England: the accession of the House of Hanover marks the rise of commerce to power in the political world. And prosperous though the merchants were, their very prosperity made their few grievances more irritating and less bearable. A single English ship of 500 tons burden might lawfully each year enter the harbour of Porto Bello on the Spanish Main: besides that one no vessel was allowed to bring British goods for sale in the markets Spain jealously guarded for herself. Yet every year the South American colonists managed to smuggle in the forbidden wares. The one admitted merchant vessel, men said, used to discharge cargo by day and fill up again nightly from storeships that lay further out at sea; strange craft put in for shelter at unlikely places, and disappeared lighter than they came. The Spanish customs-officers, irritated by such successful trickery, and fretted always by the want of support from their own colonists*—for why should a Carthagena man aid in getting revenue to be used in Madrid?—made their rules stricter and stricter, their search of suspected vessels more and more inquisitorial. They had right on their side, and pressed it to the verge of tyranny; their cunning enemies, usually outwitting them, were loudly and virtuously indignant at Spanish insolence. London, which during the eighteenth century controlled England almost as surely as Paris does France,

the merchants insist on war.

Smuggling on the Spanish Main.

* Note the quotations from Raynal and Turgot in Sir G. C. Lewis' "Government of Dependencies" (pp. 219-20, ed. 1891.)

was wild with excitement, and the statesmanship of Walpole collapsed like a house of cards at the dramatic advent of Captain Jenkins.

This redoubtable person, a ship-captain from Jamaica, was lucky enough to have somewhere lost one of his ears. Lost from his head, that is—for he kept the severed ear, and now produced it most opportunely. Six years ago, he said, Spanish customs-officers had raided his ship illegally, and finding nothing, had torn the ear off, bidding him send it to the King of England with a message that they would do the same to him if they caught him. "And what were your feelings," asked the captain's admirers, "in face of this outrage?" Jenkins rose to the occasion. "I commended," he said with due gravity, "I commended my soul to my God, and my cause to my country." His country went wild with excitement; Walpole might plead, and Walpole might negotiate, but the public preferred Jenkins; and nine years of mismanaged war was England's reward for her misplaced credulity.

Jenkins' ear.

D. North America, 1714-48.

Meanwhile in North America the colonies of France and England had been steadily expanding along the lines of least resistance. The New England settlers devoted themselves to occupying more completely the land within their own borders, and found quite enough to do in compromising disputes among themselves as to where those borders were. Spare time was filled up by quarrels between the governors, who were appointed by and under the control of the Crown, and the assemblies, who kept a very tight hand on the purse-strings, and absolutely

Colonial affairs.

refused to make fixed grants for the governor's salary or for any purpose beyond their own colony's bounds. As a natural result of these two sets of disputes each colony grew as jealous of the rest as it was of the mother-country, and any idea of confederate action became more and more hopeless.

Federation a vanishing quantity.

While the English strip was troubled with these internal dissensions, the two great French provinces were being bound more firmly together.* The old line of communications had been forced by Iroquois raids into a long curve through the Ottawa River and Lakes Nipissing, Huron, and Michigan: but in a few years after the peace a fort at Lewiston on Lake Ontario, and another at Niagara, not many miles beyond, secured for Canada the control of the western fur trade and shortened the French line of defence by several hundred miles. New York was always in peace-time disturbed by quarrels between the Albany Dutch, who welcomed trade under any flag, and the authorities in New York City, who objected to any trade with the common enemy; and while the Governor did, after a time, confront the new French forts on Ontario with a blockhouse on its southern shore at Oswego, he was much more anxious about Fort Edward on the main Hudson-Richelieu line, which was to break the traffic between Albany and Montreal. The Canadian authorities were quite as little inclined to favour this intercourse, and in 1731 began to build a strong fort at Crown Point,† where Lake Champlain narrows considerably.

Consolidation of New France.

The Erie-Wabash line.

* It is a mark of the gradual consolidation of Canada and Louisiana that Law's Mississippi Company (a French counterpart of the South Sea Company, and still less fortunate) held for some time the monopoly of Canadian beaver-skins.

† A euphemistic translation of the French "Point de la Chevelure"—*i.e.* *Scalp* Point.

While France was thus strengthening her hold on the territories she retained, she was no less eager to make useless the concessions forced from her at Utrecht. The Hudson's Bay Territory then handed over to England comprised only the waters of the bay, its coasts, and the inland country to some distance on the east and south. A French explorer, de la Verendrye, who was in command of a fort on Lake Superior, set to work to block all English expansion westward. He pushed his explorations past Lake Winnipeg and up the Saskatchewan River, establishing forts along the road to overawe the Indian tribes and act as depôts for their trade. His son pushed further on still, and some claim for him the first sight of the Rocky Mountains; but he was at any rate able to set at rest the generally believed rumour that the Pacific Ocean was to be reached by some great river joining either the Mississippi or the St Lawrence.

Explorations of de la Verendrye.

As for Acadia (without which Canada had no self-sufficing food-supply), its recapture was the dearest wish of every Frenchman in Montreal. No step was taken that might lead away from that end: no sacrifice was too great for it. The English policy was from the first one of peace: the Acadians were left undisturbed in their possessions, neither their customs nor their religion were meddled with, and when they met with evasion several mild requests that they should swear allegiance to the King of England, their excuses were again and again accepted. The French began by offering to ship to Cape Breton Island all who preferred to remain French subjects: but no ships were sent—the Acadians were much more useful where they were. Then for sixteen years the Governor of Cape Breton saw to it that Acadia remained stubborn against all English offers. They wished to be

Acadian policy of England and France.

French subjects, the farmers of Mines protested—they were only anxious to emigrate to French soil: but they could not think of doing so unless the British Government arranged for their passage and bought all the property they did not take with them. "If we take the oath to King George"—this was another excuse—"the Indians will slay us": and then they went away to stir up Indian attacks on British trading vessels, and on the two wretched forts at Annapolis and Canseau, which were the only signs of British dominion in the peninsula.

There was a very different scene beyond Canseau Strait. At Utrecht the French diplomatists had clung unshakably to Cape Breton, and the first moment of peace saw it strongly occupied. After some years of hesitation a new fortress was begun in 1720 on its south-eastern corner; and for twenty years the defences of Louisbourg grew and multiplied, New England traders supplying not a little of the material which was to shelter their deadliest enemies: for Louisbourg, men said in France, might yet rival Dunkirk as a base for privateering. The harbour, certainly, was not a good one: but it soon became the *rendezvous* for French trade in both the East Indies and the South Seas. It was not surprising that the Acadians should still hope for restoration to French hands; so in 1730, after much haggling, a strong Governor of Annapolis forced on them the oath of allegiance to George II., with much attention to the niceties of French grammar, lest they should outwit him by swearing to a meaningless form of words. But even when the peninsula was nominally peaceful there was still trouble brewing on the mainland. There had never been French settlements between the lower St Lawrence and the Bay of Fundy; that forest-ridden maze of land was left to roving Indians, mostly of the

France occupies Cape Breton Id., and builds Louisbourg.

Abenaki tribe. For many years after 1713 the English made attempts to settle on some definite boundary in that quarter between Canada and Massachusetts,* but the French had no intention of letting anything intervene between them and their lost Acadian province. So the land from the Kennebec eastward was deliberately kept desolate: when the Indians themselves made a peace with New England, missionaries were sent from Montreal and from France itself to excite them again to war. We had a thirty years' peace with France in Europe, it is true, but not for one single year of the thirty was France honestly at peace with us in America.

So, when the war of Jenkins' ear broke out, and when a little later the two colonizing nations came to open hostility in Europe, North America was quite ready for the fray. Acadia was at once invaded by a mixed force of Indians and French from Louisbourg, and Annapolis narrowly escaped capture. New England, aided by a grant of money from New York, retaliated with spirit on Louisbourg. Shirley, the Governor of Massachusetts, with great secrecy organized an expedition of thirteen ships and four thousand men, all colonial; Pepperell, his colleague in the command, spent—if we may believe his own statement—no less than £10,000 on the enterprise. Orders from London sent the West Indian squadron up to help the colonists by intercepting any rescuing force: the siege, which lasted forty-nine days, was carried on against a much-puzzled garrison by men full of life, who cheerily sledged their cannon across morasses and spent their leisure time in athletics. When the fortress capitulated, the

War between England and Spain. 1739-48.

War of the Austrian Succession, 1741-5.

France declares war against England, 1744.

Capture of Louisbourg, June 17, 1745.

* Massachusetts then held the district which is now the State of Maine.

victors thought it a fine joke to keep the French flag flying, and caught three of the enemy's merchantmen with valuable cargoes before the trick was discovered.

The war was not one of brilliant successes, and this one would have been notable in any war. Boston, of course, was triumphant, and London for the moment scarcely less so. Shirley and Pepperell, the commanders of the New England force, were made colonels in the regular army, and allowed to enrol their own regiments after the fashion of those days. And there the mother-country's enthusiasm came to a sudden stop. Two days after the news of Louisbourg came the news of a Jacobite rising in the Highlands, and American affairs lost their interest. The Duke of Newcastle, than whom Britain has had no more incapable Minister, made promises as lightly as he forgot them, saving himself trouble in both ways. Shirley planned a double attack on Canada, by sea against Quebec, and by Lake Champlain against Montreal: the northern colonies, now all afire with victorious ardour, raised troops for the enterprise—and the next news from Europe was that they were left to themselves, not only in the attack, but even for defence. Without hindrance from the British Government, a large fleet had left La Rochelle to recapture Louisbourg and Acadia and punish sharply the rash colonists who had insolently challenged the power of France. Canada took heart again, and French-Indian raids destroyed the fort at Saratoga and drove our Acadian garrison within the half-ruined walls of Annapolis. New England awaited with grim anxiety an invasion that never came. Forty-one fighting ships, besides many transports, put out of La Rochelle harbour; seven warships and as many transports put in to Chebucto. Storms shattered the

The Young Pretender lands in Scotland, July 23, 1745.

1746.

great fleet, driving part of it home again to be captured in sight of France; fever and dysentery decimated the crews and troops. The admiral died of apoplexy, the vice-admiral committed suicide. The seven ships made one more desperate attempt to reach Annapolis, and sailed into another storm. The invasion had collapsed without sighting an enemy.

Next year France made another attempt to reinforce its Canadian colony. But by this time the Highlands were quiet again, and the British fleet was on the look-out. Anson destroyed one fleet, and Hawke another. In Europe France was losing ground, in spite of fine fighting on the part of her generals. Prussia had retired from the war, the only gainer by it. Every one else was tired of it. Early in 1748 Britain, France, and Holland, came to terms, and in October signed the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. It was as inconclusive as the war had been. The commercial troubles which began the war were not even mentioned: the disputed boundaries in North America were mentioned only to postpone a solution of the difficulty. The one tangible result for Britain was a demonstration of the dangers of wide empire. More than ever the French Government saw their need of Louisbourg: to get it back they offered Madras, which a French expedition had wrested from our East India Company: and the New Englanders found their cherished trophy of victory once more in the possession of a vindictive enemy. The exchange was wise, from an imperial point of view. A French Louisbourg meant danger in North America, but a French Madras meant our expulsion from India. But to the men who had taken the fortress, who had done the one big thing of a miserable war, it was a cruel disappointment.

Fight off Finisterre, May 3, 1747: Belleisle, Oct. 14.

Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

E. The French advance all along the Line.

To the French in Canada this peace meant simply better opportunities for carrying on the war. No one expected it to last for long; in a few years Europe would be again ablaze, and communications with home, always the weakest point of Canadian defence, would be in daily danger. While they had time, they must make their lines solid from end to end. Louisbourg must become impregnable, Acadia uninhabitable, Lake Champlain and the Great Lakes impassable by English invaders; and the Louisiana road, still too devious for safety, must be shortened and strengthened through its whole length. The new fortifications at Louisbourg so alarmed the British Government that a counterstroke was determined on. Within nine months of the peace a fleet of emigrant ships sailed into Chebucto Bay, and in three years the ramparts of Halifax contained four thousand souls. Canseau was abandoned, Annapolis neglected, and the new post became—as its natural strength demanded—the centre of British power in the north-east. But beyond its walls French influence was practically supreme. The plan of campaign, decided on in Paris, was carried out with unflinching ferocity. The "ancient boundaries" of Acadia, to which the Treaty of Utrecht referred, were still in dispute; the French resolved that at most they should embrace the peninsula only. Forts were built to command the isthmus at the head of Chignecto Bay; and within the territory thus left nominally to England tribes of Micmac Indians roamed to and fro, under their fierce director the missionary le Loutre, scalping the settlers near Halifax,

The French position strengthened.

Halifax founded, 1749.

France stirs up rebellion in Acadia.

Fort Beausejour built, 1749.

terrifying such Acadians as showed a wish to become quietly subjects of King George, and often forcing the unwilling farmers to abandon their homes and cross the border to die of hunger round the French forts. English scalps were paid for, and all necessary supplies were furnished from Louisbourg. The Acadians themselves were not thought of in the matter. The Governor of Canada proclaimed them rebels if they did not take the oath of allegiance to Louis XV. and enrol themselves in the Canadian militia. The Governor of Halifax, more mildly, threatened death to all who had taken the oath to King George and afterwards armed against him. Le Loutre threatened waverers with Indian raids, and demanded the cession of half the peninsula as a reserve for his Micmacs. So, the Micmacs being everywhere, and the English only at Halifax and on the isthmus (where they had opposed fort to fort), even the most peace-loving of the Acadians gradually drifted back under French influence, and met with half-hostile non-compliance every demand and every persuasion of their lawful rulers.

Fort Lawrence built, 1750.

Along the Lakes all the forts were strengthened, and a large vessel was launched on Lake Ontario, where the English post at Oswego seriously damaged French trade. Everything was done that Canadian diplomacy could suggest to win over the Iroquois: at one time nothing but the personal influence of William Johnson, a young Irish settler on the Mohawk River, restrained the Five Nations from a general raid on their former friends. There was nothing certainly in their relations with the New York people to encourage either friendship or respect: the Albany Dutch cheated them right and left, and the New York Assembly was so indifferent to danger that the Governor had to maintain the Oswego fort out of his own pocket.

Intrigues among the Iroquois

At one point only were British colonists as active as the French. The Erie-Wabash line to Louisiana was well fortified. There was an eight-gun fort at New Orleans and a six-gun fort above the mouth of the Ohio, with four smaller forts along the Mississippi in between: a palisade at the mouth of the Wabash, and a fort on Lake Erie. But the main valley of the Ohio was hitherto unoccupied by white men, and full of all manner of Indian communities, including stragglers from Iroquois as well as from Huron and Abenaki tribes.

The Ohio valley

In 1749 the first official expedition from Montreal crossed the watershed of Lake Erie and launched its canoes on Lake Chautauqua; as it sailed down the Alleghany River towards the Ohio, it found English traders already on friendly terms with the natives. A year before, two exploring parties had pushed across the rough Alleghany ridges, one from southern Virginia on the Kanawha River, one by the Potomac valley to the upper waters of the Monongahela, which runs north to meet the Alleghany, and with it forms the Ohio. The French expedition could only warn these intruding traders to leave French territory—a warning promptly disregarded; but formal possession was taken of the valley by the simple process of nailing tin plates bearing the French insignia to trees here and there. In 1753 a new governor, Duquesne by name, mustered a really strong force for the occupation of the disputed territory, made a waggon-road on the portage between Lake Erie and the Alleghany watershed, and built a fort on French Creek, where canoes again came into use. The northern colonies were inactive; but Dinwiddie, governor of Virginia, woke at once to the imminent peril, and boldly sent off a young militia officer to the

entered by Celoron de Bienville, 1749:

by Walker, 1748.

The Ohio Company (Virginia) founded, 1749.

Dinwiddie sends Washington to reconnoitre.

new fort with a demand that the French should at once evacuate them. So daring and dramatic is the first appearance in history of the man who broke a great empire in half and created the great republic; for George Washington was the governor's messenger.

Dinwiddie had sent the news to England, with a request to be given a free hand in acting. He got it—he was authorised to build forts and to fight if need be, and ordered to expel "any number of persons" who might dare to build forts in opposition to him. But all this was to be done at the cost of the colony; and the Virginian assembly was hard to deal with. After pressure it voted money "for the defence of the frontier," but the frontier was an indefinite locality; money for work across the mountains it would not vote, not knowing whom the expenditure would benefit.* From Carolina, however, came a fairly strong detachment, and with these and his own men Dinwiddie took the offensive. But he was challenging, though he did not know it, the organised strength of France. His volunteers pushed forward to fortify the Alleghany-Monongahela junction, which he had noted on his former journey as the proper place for a fort; they were turned out by a large French force, and Fort Duquesne was built on the site that they had chosen. Washington, with all the men he could collect, marched to recapture the position; he burst upon a French force lying in ambush and destroyed it utterly; but within a month re-inforcements from Canada thrust him back

Virginia declines to support its governor.

Fort Duquesne built, 1754.

Surrender of Fort Necessity, July 4.

* The vague western boundaries of Virginia and Pennsylvania clashed in that region. The Virginian claim ran north-west, continuing the general line of the Potomac across a vast region up to and beyond Lake Superior; Pennsylvania thrust hers like a solid bar into the heart of the Ohio valley.

to a camp at Fort Necessity, and compelled him to surrender on condition that his men should be allowed to retire safely into Virginia.

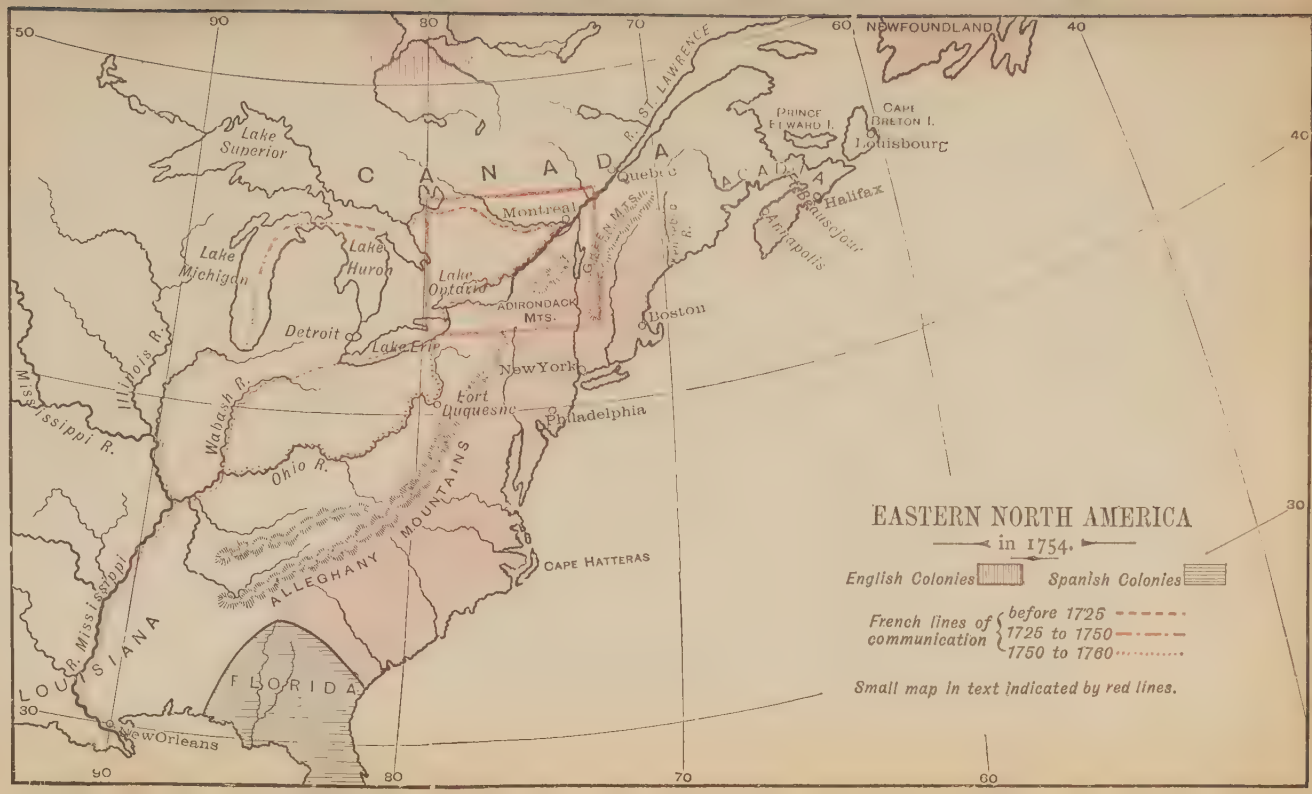
These definite acts of war forced the hand of the British Government, which had been trying for the last five years to settle peaceably the disputed boundaries in North America. A commission sat at Paris to adjust conflicting claims; but they were quite irreconcilable. On the French side the argument was that the nation which holds river-mouths owns the river-basins. Quebec and New Orleans, therefore, would secure for France every foot of soil whose rain drained off either into the Mississippi or the St Lawrence. The British commissioners believed in what we now know as the *Hinterland* theory: the nation that holds the coast, they said, holds the land behind it as far as it likes to go. They insisted, moreover, upon the Iroquois clause in the Treaty of Utrecht. The treaty acknowledged the Five Nations to be British subjects; therefore, their conquests were British possessions: and as every Iroquois raid was a conquest, this extended British North America from Montreal to Michigan and away indefinitely into the lands round Hudson's Bay.* Acadia was treated in the same way. "From the St Lawrence to New England," said the British commissioners—"the bare southern coast of the peninsula," rejoined the French: and one bold man suggested that if only the English had been "more tractable, less grasping, and more conciliatory," France might as well have asked for Halifax too. But on the whole, while the French claims were extravagant, those of the British were preposterous: and it was a

The Boundary Commission, 1750-54.

France claims river basins:

Britain claims "Hinterland."

* The Iroquois in 1744 sold to Virginia their right to the territory between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi.


90
80
70
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NEWFOUNDLAND
R. ST. LAWRENCE
Lake Superior
CANADA
Quebec
Montreal
PRINCE EDWARD I.
CAPE BRETON I.
Louisbourg
ACADIA
Halifax
Annapolis
Lake Michigan
Lake Huron
Lake Ontario
GREEN MTS.
ADIRONDACK MTS.
Boston
Detroit
Lake Erie
New York
Illinois R.
Mississippi R.
Wabash R.
Fort Duquesne
Philadelphia
Ohio R.
ALLEGHANY MOUNTAINS
CAPE HATTERAS
R. Mississippi
LOUISIANA
FLORIDA
New Orleans
EASTERN NORTH AMERICA
in 1754.
English Colonies
Spanish Colonies
French lines of communication
before 1725
1725 to 1750
1750 to 1760
Small map in text indicated by red lines.

relief to both sides when Washington's musket-shots broke in upon the strained peace.

F. Mismanaged War.

In spite of Canadian aggression the various colonies were little disposed to unite for self-defence. The Virginians insisted on an undignified squabble with Dinwiddie before they would grant him supplies. The Pennsylvanians, half German,* half Quaker, wholly pig-headed, renewed a dispute about their constitution, and bluntly told the Governor that they preferred French conquest to giving up their privileges. New York quibbled over the territorial question. Only Shirley of New England, who had been a member of the lapsed boundary commission, came back from Paris full of energy, and began at once a diversion by marching into the lands beyond the Kennebec. At home, however, the matter was treated more seriously. Two regiments under General Braddock were sent to Virginia, where Dinwiddie and Shirley, with four more colonial governors, met the new commander in a council of war.

The colonies disunited and indifferent.

Braddock sent from England to manage the war, 1755.

The arrangements were simple and straightforward. There were now four lines of communication between the French and English colonies. Each was to be used—though war had not been declared—for an attack on the enemy's country. A body of New Englanders was to seize the hostile forts in Acadia, with Louisbourg in view for future efforts. Johnson was to march with a mixed force of colonists and Iroquois against Crown Point. Shirley himself, with the two

The plan of campaign.

* "Aliens who will shortly be so numerous as to Germanize us instead of our Anglifying them."—William Clarke.

regiments raised after the fall of Louisbourg, would take the Mohawk River route to Lake Ontario and destroy the forts at Niagara. Braddock and his newly-arrived troops, with the Virginian volunteers, were responsible for the capture of Fort Duquesne.

The Albany congress, 1754.

Nine months before this representatives of New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland had met in congress at Albany to make a fresh alliance with the half-alienated Iroquois. Benjamin Franklin, the chief delegate from Pennsylvania, had seized the occasion to propose a general federation, and his colleagues had listlessly accepted it. But now that federated action was urgently necessary no trace of it was to be found. Each colony quarrelled with the rest about expenses, about command, about the number of troops to be raised and the work they were to do. Franklin himself is a notable example of the narrowness of these local patriotisms, as Washington is of the fine national patriotism that becomes a great man. Where Pennsylvania was not concerned, as in the case of Braddock's expedition (which was to march through Virginia), Franklin could be zealous for the success of British arms; if his own State was called upon, he became at once a querulous and quibbling partisan. The same man who in May personally procured for Braddock nearly all his transport waggons, spent November in exciting the Pennsylvanian Assembly to refuse a war-vote, till the enemy was within sixty miles of Philadelphia.

Franklin.

The Ohio Valley expedition.

Braddock's expedition was the first to start. With fourteen hundred regular soldiers, and about five hundred Virginians under Washington, he advanced to Fort Cumberland near the headwaters of the Potomac, and began to cut a road through primeval forest so that the army could move

with all its paraphernalia. In eight days twenty miles were covered, and Washington advised his commander to leave the heavy baggage and push on with the best of his troops. Braddock pushed on accordingly—at the rate of four miles a day or so. This dawdling ruined all: it gave the French leaders time to cheer up their wavering Indian allies—for since Washington's repulse every Ohio Valley Indian was on the French side—and encouraged them at last to take the offensive. On the ninth of July Braddock reached a ford of the Monongahela, only eight miles from Fort Duquesne. The ford, to his surprise, was undefended, and his little army marched across and along the further bank in a well ordered array. The advanced guard had crossed a little gully and the flat beyond it, and was just crossing a second gully, when a force of about nine hundred French and Indians appeared in its front. The front files checked and fired: the main body came up to support them. Immediately every enemy disappeared from view: but from behind trees on all sides, and from the two gullies, just deep enough to serve as rifle-pits, a continuous fire poured in upon the crowded English. For three hours they stood thus, firing wildly at an invisible foe, but too helplessly puzzled to follow their officers into the death-giving forest: then Braddock, wounded and in despair, ordered a retreat, and a panic-stricken crowd melted away along the newly-made road. In a day and a half they were sixty-seven miles from the scene of disaster, infecting the reserves with their own fears. The baggage and ammunition were destroyed: Fort Cumberland was disgracefully abandoned—for Braddock's death soon after the fight left a coward in command; and the road constructed with so much labour became a highway for all the savagery of the

Fight near Fort Duquesne, July 9, 1755.

Retreat of Dunbar.

West, let loose by France upon the scattered settlers of Virginia and Pennsylvania.

While Braddock was still at Fort Cumberland another part of the fourfold scheme of attack was in process of execution. Monckton, the commander at Halifax, landed on the Acadian isthmus a force consisting mainly of New England volunteers. Vergor, the French commandant, sent hastily for help to Louisbourg, and set le Loutre to dragoon his flock into making some sort of defence. But Louisbourg was already blockaded by a British fleet, and the miserable garrison of Fort Beausejour (its commander included) was chiefly anxious not to be killed.

The subjugation of Acadia.

Vergor surrendered without much resistance; le Loutre escaped in disguise, only to be caught on his way to France and thrown into an English prison. The other French forts on Acadian ground were given up without fighting. Acadia was at last mastered, and Monckton took measures to secure its absolute obedience in future.

Surrender of Fort Beausejour, June 16.

The mistakes of the last forty years must not be repeated. Yet his New England troops were there only for the summer, and their departure would certainly be the signal for fresh efforts on the French side to recapture the province. As long as the Acadians were left in it, such efforts might at any time be successful. Therefore—he decided with some reluctance — the Acadians must go. Shirley and Lawrence, the governor of the province, agreed with his decision. One pities the unfortunate farmers while admitting that they deserved it. Their fathers, made British subjects by the act of the French king, had refused either to leave British territory or to obey British rulers. They themselves had been born under the British flag; but they followed in their fathers'

Expulsion of the Acadians, Sept. to Nov.

footsteps, and no small number had been actively and treacherously hostile to the British Government. Now they were given a last chance; the oath of allegiance to King George, without equivocation, was proffered to them; and their refusal left no course open but that they should be deported from the land to which they were a danger. For three months the work went on with perhaps unnecessary harshness, till six thousand of them had been removed and distributed among the thirteen older colonies; and Acadia was no longer a weakness in the British line of defence.

The fight on the Monongahela had put Braddock's papers into the hands of the French, who now had warning of the whole scheme of attack. Consequently, before Johnson led his motley force from Albany (five colonies were represented in it besides the Indian allies), an army was already on the march from Montreal to defend Crown Point. The French Government at Paris had known from the first of the English preparations at the end of 1754, and had lost no time in despatching six regiments to Canada under the command of Dieskau, sending out at the same time a new governor, Vaudreuil, since Duquesne was enfeebled by ill-health. These six regiments were sent against Johnson, and lay at Ticonderoga while he was collecting his troops at the southern end of Lake George. Dieskau remembered with envy the defeat of Braddock, and hoped to equal it by contriving a similar ambush on the road between Lake George and the Hudson. The ambush was well laid: but the Massachusetts regiment that fell into it had previous experience of Indian warfare, and made a handsome retreat to its timber-walled camp on the lake, against which the fury of Dieskau's assault was shattered. The French were routed, and their general

Johnson's expedition

attacked by Dieskau, Sept. 8.

wounded and taken prisoner: but Johnson's loss was too heavy to let him take the offensive, and the enterprise had no further result than the building of Fort William Henry on the scene of the victory.

Fort William Henry built.

As for Shirley and his attack on Niagara, they collapsed altogether. His two regiments consisted of raw levies, unstrung by the news from Virginia. He got them as far as Oswego, found that the French were ready for him, and decided to put off active hostilities till the next spring.

Shirley's expedition a failure.

So ended the last year of the nominal peace. In two battles and a siege French and English troops had met each other as enemies. From the Roanoke to the Susquehanna the allies of France were ravaging British territory. Acadian refugees were straggling into Quebec or across the wilds to New Orleans with bitter complaints of English cruelty. It was time to recognize that the nations were at war; and in June, 1756, the Seven Years' War began. Europe only needed the signal to blaze with the war-fire from end to end. Yet America was not entirely neglected; Montcalm was sent from France to replace Dieskau, while the English ministry despatched Webb, Abercromby, and Loudoun, one after the other, to countermand Shirley's plans and disagree about their own. Shirley was urgent to repeat the attacks on Crown Point and Niagara, and under his orders Bradstreet, a New Englander, took supplies up to Oswego and defeated with heavy loss a raiding party of French. It was the last victory for very many months. The main colonial army collected at Fort William Henry, preparing for an advance on Ticonderoga, where Vaudreuil had built a fort during the previous winter. Webb and Abercromby were bent on this enterprise, and neglected Oswego, which Shirley vainly implored them to rein-

War declared between France and Britain, May 15, 1756.

The campaign of 1756.

July 3.

force. When at last Loudoun despatched Webb to do so, it was too late; Montcalm had massed troops on Lake Ontario, taken and destroyed Oswego, and secured the sole control of the Lakes and Ohio valley. Webb ran shamefully before an imaginary enemy (for Montcalm was already on his way back to Lake Champlain) and settled down to sulk at Fort Edward.

Oswego taken by the French, Aug. 14.

The news paralysed the army on Lake George, and the year ended with nothing done; though the winter is made memorable in New England story by the exploits of Robert Rogers, who was continually scouting round the French forts even for miles beyond Crown Point, harassing their convoys, capturing their outposts, and keeping his leaders well supplied with important information. In the spring Loudoun decided to abandon attacks by land and co-operate with a fleet from England in taking Louisbourg. The two forces, however, only met in Halifax in July; a rival French fleet had already entered the threatened harbour; and the storms that saved New England in 1746 did equally good work for Canada in 1757. But Loudoun's arrangements were not without result. He had withdrawn the best of his troops from the land attack; two thousand only were left at Fort William Henry, and fifteen hundred more under Webb at Fort Edward. Against them Montcalm moved the whole army of Canada, six thousand white troops besides bands of Indians from every tribe between Louisbourg and Lake Superior. A five days' siege drove the garrison of Fort William Henry to surrender, since Webb lay cowering in his camp and left them unsupported; but the Indians had got beyond control, and in spite of Montcalm's desperate endeavours to save them a large number of the prisoners were mercilessly butchered.

The campaign of 1757.

Failure of attack on Louisbourg.

Montcalm takes Fort William Henry, Aug. 9.

G. William Pitt.

Scarcely ever in Britain's history have her fortunes fallen so low, and through the fault of her own Government. Our American misfortunes were the least of the French triumphs. In the August of 1755 information had reached the Admiralty almost simultaneously from Nice, Cartagena, and Madrid that 38 men of war and 180 battalions of troops were in Toulon, ready to attack Minorca: but Anson, then First Lord, had shamefully neglected the navy, which, though double the size of the French, was much its inferior in discipline and gunnery. What there was of it, moreover, was kept hanging round the channel to guard the English coasts against invasion. When, in the spring of 1756, Admiral Byng was sent with a tiny squadron to the Mediterranean, he found Gibraltar so weakly garrisoned that he dared not take from it the troops which might have saved Minorca, and on June 28 the island was captured by the French. This disaster drove the Newcastle-Fox Ministry from office, and brought William Pitt into office at the year's end; but his desire to save Byng, who had been condemned to be shot for losing Minorca, and his opposition to the King's determination to appoint a royal prince commander of the British army in Germany, brought about his dismissal in four months. This, however, was more than public opinion would stand; by the end of June, 1757, he was back again, and all-powerful in matters of foreign policy, while the royal prince's disgraceful capitulation in September justified his previous action even to the King. But it was too late to remedy things much in 1757: Pitt set to work to have everything

The shameful years.
Loss of Minorca, June 28, 1756.
Convention of Kloster Seven, Sept. 8, 1757.
Pitt called to power.

ready for immediate action at the earliest moment in 1758.

He began by altering the whole strategy of the war. The war in Europe was left almost entirely to our ally, Frederick of Prussia, who was subsidized with £670,000 a year to keep the French armies occupied on the continent, thus freeing England from the fear of invasion and releasing the navy for its proper work of attacking hostile fleets on their own coasts. The army was strengthened by raising regiments among the Highland clans, and relieved of its garrison-duties at home by the organization of a local militia. For Britain in future the war was to be colonial and naval. In America especially victory must be won all along the line. The fourfold attack was to be renewed, with good generals this time as well as good troops. Better than any general was Pitt himself, great with a self-confidence that he had right to feel, full of enthusiasm, masterful, a leader of men because he judged their powers as unerringly as he knew his own—whose room "nobody ever entered who did not come out of it a braver man." His new policy.

Loudoun (who was reputed not to want a victory, because it might have ended the war and his enormous profits therefrom) was replaced as Commander-in-Chief by Abercromby; and Loudoun's attempts to force the colonies into grants of money were cancelled in favour of polite requests from the British Government to each colony, through its own Governor, for help with money or troops. But while Pitt preferred a weak Commander-in-Chief, to prevent interference with his own plans, he wanted fighting generals of better quality. For the Louisbourg expedition he chose Amherst, a man of the bull-dog type, with the bold and almost reckless Wolfe for his adjutant. Abercromby was left

to attack Ticonderoga—for political influence required some concessions—but his brigadier, the real leader, was Lord Howe, according to Wolfe "the best soldier in the British army": and the Mohawk - Ontario expedition was left in his hands. Forbes, a Scot in caution as in race, was sent against Fort Duquesne, with Washington to help him. Many thousands of troops were despatched from England, notably the newly-raised Highland regiments, who were to redeem in America the rebellion of 1745. And to leave the new generals and the new army a free hand in conquering Canada, 200 British ships of war swept the Atlantic, on the watch that no reinforcements should leave France for America.

The new policy was not long in justifying itself. The French Toulon fleet was blockaded within the Straits of Gibraltar. Another was destroyed at St Malo, and a third burnt at Cherbourg. Fort St Louis on the Senegal, and Goree on Cape Verde, both fell into British hands. Louisbourg, left to its own resources, succumbed after a brave defence against an eight weeks' siege, in which Wolfe's gallantry played a conspicuous part.* In August, Bradstreet, to whom the line of the Mohawk had been entrusted, dashed across Lake Ontario and took Fort Frontenac, thus breaking in half the Canada - Louisiana chain of communications. And late in the year the doggedness of Forbes was rewarded by the capture of Fort Duquesne. At one point only had Pitt's combinations failed: Lord Howe

The years of victory.
Fort St Louis, May 1. 1758.
St Malo, June 6.
Louisbourg, July 27.
Cherbourg Aug. 8.
Frontenac, Aug. 25.
Duquesne, Nov. 24.
Goree, Dec. 29.

* Boscawen commanded the blockading fleet, and Rodney was captain of a 74-gun ship in it. Wolfe was one of the first on shore, jumping from his boat into the surf under a heavy fire.

was killed at the first attack of Ticonderoga, and the second was a blind rush upon strong fortifications that ended in retreat and panic. It was fatal to oppose Abercromby to Montcalm.

Failures at Ticonderoga, July 6 and 8.

The next year saw no change in Pitt's plans, or in his victories. The American war was now threefold only: Amherst was sent to Lake George, Wolfe to Louisbourg for an attack on Quebec, Prideaux to Lake Ontario for the capture of Fort Niagara — each expedition being destined finally to move in unison with the others upon Montreal. Canada, on the other hand, was in sad plight. France could spare no help: "when the house is burning," said the French Ministry, "the stable must take its chance." In the colony itself Vaudreuil and Montcalm were not working well together: the governor was a Canadian born, and his office was in the Naval department,* so that he had no great love for soldiers come from France. However, they were making great efforts to defend Lake Champlain and the Upper St Lawrence, when the news of an English fleet on its way to Quebec surprised them. Every available man was at once sent to this vital point: and, when Wolfe's army of nine thousand† sailed into the river-reach below Quebec, it was faced by sixteen thousand posted on and below the most impregnable fortress in the New World.

1759.

This diversion of course weakened the opposition to Amherst and Prideaux. Niagara fell without much trouble; the glory was Johnson's, for Prideaux was killed at the first fire. The whole

Niagara, July 24.

* Cf. the early troubles in New South Wales between the Governors (all naval men) and the New South Wales corps.

† Pitt had ordered the despatch of 11,600, but the regiments were below strength. Of the French, 6,000 were regulars and 10,000 local militia.

of the French West was at once thrown open, the Ohio valley completely deserted, and such French troops as could be rallied took refuge in Detroit. Amherst meanwhile, no longer spurred into action by Wolfe, set to work on the Lake Champlain forts as if he had been besieging citadels in Flanders. Ticonderoga had been left in charge of a small detachment, Crown Point abandoned altogether, and the French defence concentrated in Isle-aux-Noix, at the extremity of the lake; but Amherst besieged and occupied the forts with great deliberation, and refused to stir a step forward before he had repaired and strengthened each of them.

Ticonderoga, July 27. Crown Point Aug. 1. Advance from Crown Point, Oct. 11.

If his had been the only enterprise on foot, there might have been some excuse for this slow advance. But while he built forts and cut roads, Wolfe was wearing his heart out in front of Quebec. The city stands on a long tongue of land that falls in cliffs to the St Lawrence on the right, and on the left less steeply, but still in difficult slopes, to the meadows of the river St Charles. Below the St Charles, along a shore gradually rising northwards to the heights of Montmorenci, Montcalm's whole army guarded the only possible approach to the city — for the cliffs on the St Lawrence above the town were impassable except by winding paths that a dozen men could hold with ease. Wolfe encamped on the Isle of Orleans, opposite the Montmorenci heights, and soon afterwards established siege batteries on Point Lévis opposite Quebec itself, from which he could bombard the town. But the ruin of the town made no difference to the citadel, or to the army below

Wolfe before Quebec.

He arrives, June 26: occupies Point Lévis, June 30;

the St Charles; and although he established a third camp on the heights below the Montmorenci River, and harassed Montcalm from that position, yet every direct attack on the French army failed. Autumn was coming on; Montcalm waited patiently, strongly placed with all his forces within reach; Wolfe had split his into three weak bodies severed from each other by a mighty river. But he was nothing if not daring; he made a fourth division, sent part of the fleet up the river above Quebec, and so drew away a part of Montcalm's force to Cap-Rouge, where the cliffs were more accessible and needed defence. Still he waited for Amherst, and Amherst did not come. His position could not be held much longer, and he risked everything on a desperate adventure.

and the Montmorenci banks, July 9:

sends a squadron above Quebec, July 18:

For some days he let his ships, crowded with troops, drift up and down with the tide past Cap-Rouge till the garrison there was tired out with following them along the banks. Then, on the 12th of September, a picked force of five thousand men was mustered partly on shipboard, partly on the bank above Point Lévis. Night came on, and the main English fleet battered Montcalm's camp and put out all its boats as if for a landing: the ships at Cap-Rouge drifted quietly with the tide. As the tide turned, Wolfe and his forlorn hope dropped down in boats close under the bank, where sentry after sentry let them pass in the belief that they were provision boats for the citadel. They landed at a spot Wolfe had marked days before, and clambered one by one up the precipitous ridge. Vergor was on guard there, the man who in 1755 had surrendered

manœuvres the squadron, Sept. 7, 8, 9:

and scales the heights, Sept. 13.

Fort Beausejour so faint-heartedly: most of his picket was away on leave, harvesting their own fields on condition they afterwards harvested his. The few that were left with him went to sleep, following their commander's example: and when they woke the English army had gained the heights. By six o'clock Wolfe found himself and his gallant four thousand in line on the Plains of Abraham, with a large body of French from Cap-Rouge in his rear, Quebec in front, and beyond Quebec regiment after regiment of Montcalm's men hurrying up to crush him.

Battle on the Plains of Abraham.

But his daring had already won the battle, for there was not a cool head left in the French camp. If the English troops could scale those cliffs, they might be expected anywhere: Vaudreuil clung to what troops he could detain beyond the St Charles: Ramesay, Captain of the Quebec garrison, could barely spare a couple of guns, and Montcalm rushed out of the town at the head of a disorderly mass to stay the English advance. He got them into some sort of order, threw out skirmishers to annoy the enemy's flanks, and led them to the charge. Wolfe's line stood firm till they were at close quarters, then delivered two crashing volleys and charged. The rout was instant and complete. Montcalm, fatally wounded, was carried into Quebec: the remains of his army poured down the heights back to their camp, infecting everyone they met with their own panic. At nightfall Vaudreuil gave the order to retreat, and abandoned cannon, camp, provisions, and the fortress itself to the victorious English.

Vaudreuil retreats up the St Lawrence.

Wolfe, happy in the success of his daring, died on the field. His successors intrenched themselves on the

heights they had won, and pressed the siege with vigour. The commandant Ramesay found himself helpless in the face of a threatened mutiny, and on the eighteenth surrendered the town. He could do nothing else; but it was one more piece of good fortune for the British, seeing that a day's delay would have brought upon them Lévis, Montcalm's successor, with a fresh army and cooler plans for rendering their position untenable. As it was, when spring came, they found themselves besieged in turn, and a battle outside the walls ended in defeat.

Quebec surrenders, Sept. 18.

Battle of Sainte Foye, April 28, 1760.

Now the full effect of Pitt's policy came into view. Both sides were waiting for help from home, and the first vessel up the St Lawrence would decide the fate of Quebec. But there were no more French vessels to come; all through the previous year the French ports had been blockaded: Boscawen had shattered the Toulon fleet off the coast of Portugal, and Hawke amid November storms destroyed the Brest fleet in the shoals of Quiberon Bay. In desperation the Ministry trusted to luck, and despatched a convoy early in the year, hoping that it might escape the English guard — and hoping in vain. Canada was left to abide its fate, and was not long left waiting. An English squadron raised the siege of Quebec; Lévis retired upon Montreal, and busied himself about its defence. Then, insistent and inexorable, the threefold advance began again. Murray from Quebec, Amherst from Ontario, moved in along the St Lawrence. Haviland forced the passage of Isle-aux-Noix and came up from the south. When the three armies joined hands,

Lagos, Aug. 18, 1759.

Quiberon Bay, Nov. 20.

Arrival of British fleet at Quebec, May 9-15, 1760.

Amherst arrives before Montreal, Sept. 6; Murray, Sept. 7; Haviland, Sept. 8.

Vaudreuil capitulates, Sept. 8.

Montreal fell without a blow, and French rule in Canada was over.

For twenty-five years Britain had been engaged in a struggle which, by whatever name it was called—Spanish war, Jacobite rebellion, French war, or even "peace"—was in reality one and the same. A Family Compact and a war with Spain had begun it: its closing years were marked by a renewal of the Compact and the re-entry of Spain to share the fate of France. All over the West Indies French islands were yielding to the victorious British fleet: the appearance of this new combatant added Cuba to our conquests,* and matched it with the capture of the Philippine Islands at the other side of the world. But the man who had conquered France for us was not allowed to conquer Spain also: a new king sat on the British throne, and the Imperial minister was thrust out to make room for the royal favourite.

Second Family Compact, Aug. 15, 1761.

War declared against Spain, Dec. 31.

Havana taken, Aug. 14, 1762.

Manila taken, Oct. 6.

George III King, Oct. 25, 1760: Pitt resigns, Oct. 5, 1761.

The peace that came in 1763 was not Pitt's peace, but it was better than people expected from Bute; and it was so full of glory for a nation that still remembered Aix-la-Chapelle fifteen years ago that men felt almost ashamed to grumble. Spain bought back Cuba by ceding Florida—a much more extended region than the present state of that name: France bartered island against island in the West Indies, and traded Minorca for Belle Isle in Europe, and the Senegal district for Goree in Africa. But beside this land-trafficking stood the great trophies of victory: Canada became British, and all the land from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi, and Acadia,

Peace of Paris, Feb. 9, 1763.

* Four thousand troops from America helped in the capture.

ancient boundaries and all: India became British as far as French cession could make it so: the fleets of Spain and France were gone, and the five great oceans, waterways of all the world, became from that time highroads for British colonization.

CHAPTER III

BRITISH CANADA.

A. The New Rule in Canada.

It seems probable that the Canadian officials had not expected Britain to retain Canada at the peace; and this may in part explain the rather hasty surrender of Vaudreuil, who for all his faults was a Canadian and a lover of his country. There were some in Britain itself who would have restored the colony in exchange for one more West Indian island,* and French officials in Paris as well as at Montreal had seen that a British Canada would remove one of the strongest influences which held the American coast-colonies in allegiance to the mother-country. During the three years which separated the capture of Montreal from the Peace of Paris a new uprising was being fomented in the West, where France still held forts on the Upper Mississippi, while Rogers (of Lake George fame) had occupied the Lake forts and garrisoned them with English troops. From the first, as we have before seen, the Indian tribes had found the French friendly and sympathizing allies; to the English colonists, never

Canada not yet regarded as permanently British.

The Conspiracy of Pontiac, 1763-4.

* St Lucia—see p. 42. In the British Parliament of 1774 members spoke of giving back Canada to France as a possible line of policy.

To face page 100.

forgetful of their plundered homes in New England, Ottawa and Ojibway and Shawnee were just as much "vermin" as the Huron and the Abenaki. The whole West rose under Pontiac, a chief of the Ottawas; Detroit only and Fort Pitt (that had been Fort Duquesne) were held against the onrush of rebellion; Virginia and Pennsylvania were again raided all along their western borders; and it was a year before the approach of Bradstreet down the Lakes route and a daring march by Bouquet, one of Forbes' men, into the heart of the Indian country, brought the tribes to terms, and really ended the war in America.

Attack on Detroit, May 9, 1763.

Bouquet on the Muskingum, Oct. 1764.

Pontiac's war just escaped great importance, and it was no fault of the colonies that it did so. Two things saved the situation—the ready despatch of British troops, and the personal exertions of Johnson among the Iroquois. One of the Iroquois clans actually did rebel: if the other five had joined them, and prolonged the area of revolt into the old fighting-grounds between Ontario and the Kennebec, Canada must have been conquered over again from the beginning. The New York Assembly, mainly at the instigation of the Albany Dutch, had made a mistake that has been repeated since in the history of British expansion—notably, as we shall see, in the first colonizing of New Zealand; because the Iroquois had acknowledged British sovereignty, they assumed that Iroquois lands had become the property of New York colony, and had proceeded to make grants of them to all and sundry without thinking of compensation for the tribes who owned them. Johnson soothed his Indian friends with the assurance that the home Government would do them justice: and while Pontiac's war was still in progress, a royal proclamation estab-

Relations with the Indians.

lished throughout British America the honourable policy which in the Canadian Dominion has ever since been honourably observed. No private person could buy, and no single Indian could sell, the hunting-grounds of the tribes: the Governor alone, by a formal treaty with each tribe's representatives, was to obtain on fair terms such lands as a growing colony might require. Thirteen years later this act of good faith was to figure as part of the King's tyranny over his American colonies: but one need only cross to-day the border-line that parts Assiniboia from Montana, the Cree farmers from the Sioux marauders, to know on which side lay the tyranny, on which the just rule over willing subjects.

The King's Proclamation, Oct. 7, 1763.

Then for ten years Canada settled down into a somewhat uneasy sleep. The royal proclamation had nominally created four new colonies, besides enlarging the bounds of Nova Scotia and adding the Labrador coast and its fisheries to the fishing-colony of Newfoundland: and the governors were empowered to summon Assemblies and to introduce English law. As a matter of fact, none of these provisions, except those relating to Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, were ever put into force; Murray, the defender of Quebec against Lévis, governed the whole of the ceded country till 1766, and his successor, Carleton, maintained his conciliatory policy towards the French Catholic inhabitants. The immigrants from England and the coast colonies were more intolerant, and demanded recognition as the real owners of the country: the city of London solemnly reminded George III. that his great grandfather had not been fetched over from Hanover to be lenient to Roman Catholics: but Carleton fought ably for the people he was set to govern, and secured at last

Arrangements for administering the new colony.

The French-Canadians well treated.

that the Quebec Act of 1774 should grant religious toleration and the maintenance of French civil law, while introducing British criminal law, a legislative council, and a fairly free system of local government.

The Quebec Act.

B. Disaffection in the Colonies.

The Quebec Act had other provisions which vitally affected the whole of British North America: and to understand its importance on this side we must go back to the Peace of Paris and study its effect on the colonies of the coastal strip. In 1763 they contained nearly a million and a half of people, mostly hardy country folk, whom years of border fighting had trained to war, and Pitt's generals had led again and again to victory. And while the colonial troops had begun to understand war on a large scale, the colonial assemblies had gained some insight into extra-parochial politics. They had been part of the European political system: for them Frederick the Great had been subsidized to fight three nations at once. They had, they felt, with perhaps more than justifiable pride, made sacrifices and done great things for the Empire: not the least important work of the late campaigns had been done by their own men, Johnson, Rogers, Bradstreet, Washington; and the New England colonies, at any rate, had spent their money freely on expeditions far beyond their own boundaries.

The American colonies after the Peace of Paris.

Their position was a splendid one. Three thousand miles of a rough and tedious sea voyage separated them from the mother-country; their own coast-line was a thousand miles long, penetrated by numerous inlets, almost impossible to blockade. Behind them stretched a land practically bound-

Their advantages in a struggle for independence.

less, tenanted by a scanty population of Indians, well watered, fertile, rich in minerals. Now that France had abandoned the continent (for Louisiana west of the Mississippi she had handed over to Spain) they had no local enemy to fear; it was in almost every case French inspiration that had fanned the Indian wars into a blaze, and the deliberate ferocity of French officials that had made them so unrestingly inhuman. There was little wealth in the northern colonies, but there was no poverty; farmers in New England, cattlemen and small manufacturers in the middle colonies, planters in the South, made up the bulk of the population. Every man could fight; some of the colonies ordained that every man should carry arms. If such a people wished for independence, what was to prevent them from claiming it?

In the first place, there was a very strong feeling of loyalty to the mother-land. Even the Massachusetts Assembly, always the most stubbornly hostile to control, acknowledged in an outburst of enthusiasm what Britain had done for them. The Dutchmen of New York, the Germans of Pennsylvania, indifferent at first as to their government so long as they could still make money, welcomed the power which could protect their trade. The Virginians, proud of their cavalier ancestry, maintained that romantic attachment to the country of their fathers which often defies the dictates of self-interest. In all the colonies the best men could not but own that where Britain interfered with their internal government it was nearly always on the right side—to veto sectarian laws, to modify over-harsh treatment of the Indians, to relax the oppressive rule of proprietary bodies.

But they were loyal on the whole,

Again, the colonies were very far from a real union. While their troops fought side by side under Forbes

or Amherst, their politicians fought each other over every trivial possibility of dispute. Questions of boundary, questions of trade, questions of responsibility for failures, irritated and divided them even in the crisis of the struggle for independence. The New England traders were equally ready to supply the British armies and the French islands with food and other necessaries of war. We have seen the Albany Dutch preferring their trade with Montreal to the defence of New York, and the Virginians refusing to pay for regiments that might possibly do some good for Pennsylvania. "They all love England," said Franklin in 1760, "much more than they love one another."

and disunited among themselves.

But the love and the loyalty, it is to be feared, were rather after the pattern of that sentimental affection which a young runaway is apt to feel for the home which he has deserted and the parents who no longer control him. Moreover, the eighteenth century had seen a development of the British constitution which American politicians failed to understand. Their experience was of rights defined by a charter, irrevocable except for serious misconduct—an organized colony, like a judge, should hold its office "during good behaviour," free from outside interference. The King was the granter of charters: the King, advised by his privy council, might alter or annul them—if he did so unjustly, they had a personal grievance against him. But by 1760 the acts of the King and his privy council were, to a large extent, controlled by the express wishes of the British Parliament: and that body, under Whig guidance, was rapidly assuming for itself the irresponsible supremacy, the power of altering laws without reason given, which from the days of ancient Greece has been rightly called tyranny. This was a new and a startling

They object to the supersession of Crown control by Parliamentary control.

phenomenon to the American colonist. He was, willingly or unwillingly, a subject of the British king and a member of the British nation: that did not necessarily involve his subjection to the whims of a body of men elected entirely within the bounds of Great Britain.* A democratic people generally mistrusts, sometimes a little despises its own parliament, and is not at all inclined to have greater respect for that of any other country. The parliament of a democracy is a somewhat complicated device for bringing to the front men who can lead the democracy, and lending momentum to the impetus of brains by adding the weight of a majority. The colonies willingly recognized the man who could lead and stood by Pitt: but for the mere majority without a real leader they cared nothing. In these revolution-breeding years, as Lord Acton well says, their real enemy was the House of Commons.

Parliament discovers Walpole's laxity,

That House, at any rate, believed emphatically in its right and power to rule. For a hundred years it had been passing Navigation Acts, and it had just found out that they were being disobeyed with impunity. If Spain, decrepit and effete, could enforce restrictions of trade on her colonies, why should England drive her team with looser reins? The answer is, of course, that Spain was ruling Spaniards, and England Englishmen; but such questions at the time were rhetorical, and did not wait for an answer.

and decides to enforce its laws strictly.

Grenville in power, Apr. 8, 1763.

Grenville, coming into office after the Peace, set himself to remodel the relations between Britain and her colonies. The Navigation Acts must be obeyed; the slipshod ease of Walpole's method was to be abandoned; if Boston trade could not exist without smuggling, Boston trade must die. Strictness was after all only fair as between

* This is what Otis meant when in 1761 he called it a "foreign legislature." Cf. the protest of Barbados in 1651 (*supra*, p. 38).

the colonies themselves, for obedient Virginia had long complained of the laxity in New England. The law was enforced, and Boston cherished its grievance.

One lesson was to be read very clearly in the history of the late war. America could not be trusted to defend herself against attack; Montcalm and Pontiac alike had required British regiments to defeat them. And if a war came again, it would simplify matters to have the regiments on the spot to meet it. Grenville decided, therefore, to station about ten thousand troops as garrisons in various parts of British America, and to levy a tax on the colonies which would pay about one-third of the expense. The agents of the colonies protested at first,* and suggested that they might be told what they were to pay, and allowed to raise the money in their own way. This, in view of past experiences, was evidently impracticable; Grenville's Stamp Act was passed by a majority of four to one; and the agents, accepting the situation, nominated officials who should carry it out in each colony. At the same time, to make it evident that the new policy was not selfish, Grenville relaxed the Navigation Acts, whose strictness was avowedly a matter of gain to British trade.

First Quartering Act, 1765. The Stamp Act, March 22, 1765.

Some months later Parliament was startled by bad news from America, which it had quite forgotten. The colonial assemblies protested against the Act; the nominated officials declined to take up their duties; Boston rioted. A congress of politicians

Congress at New York, Oct. 7-25.

* Franklin in 1764 was not unfavourable to a similar scheme. "It is very possible," he wrote, "that the Crown may think it necessary to keep troops in America thenceforward, to maintain its conquests and defend its colonies, and that the Parliament may establish some revenue *arising out of the American trade* to be applied towards supporting those troops. It is possible, too, that we may, after a few years' experience, be generally very well satisfied with that measure." The italicised words raise the point referred to on the next page about the difference between internal and external taxation.

from nine colonies made a united "Declaration of Rights and Grievances." "We cannot be taxed," they said, "by a body in which we are not represented." Grenville's ministry had fallen, and his successors were not proud of the Stamp Act; Pitt denounced it, and its repeal was made easy. But the dignity of Parliament had been hurt, and it consoled itself by passing another Act to assert its own power of taxing America.

Stamp Act repealed, Feb. 1766.

The Declaratory Act.

Pitt came into office again, but not into power. If he had been the Pitt of nine years before, who can say what might have happened? for he was planning the annexation of Bengal and an Imperial Customs Union. As it was, his name gave vitality to a ministry that did everything he disapproved of. The colonies had laid themselves open to what followed. In resisting the Stamp Act they had feared the precedent of their previous nominal submission to the Navigation Acts: and they drew a logical distinction between internal taxation—money to be paid in connection with transactions between people of the same colony, such as marriages, lawsuits, &c.—and external taxation, which arose out of transactions between a colonist and outsiders. The first, they said, must be dealt with by the colony's own assembly only: the second might be levied by the English Crown, seeing that it represented them in all other relations with the outside world. It is dangerous for relations to chop logic with one another: but Townshend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, thought it smart to take the Americans at their word. He passed an Act imposing Customs duties on half a dozen articles, and calculated to get by it £40,000 wherewith to pay colonial Governors and Judges. He got £16,000, of which nearly the whole went in the expenses of

Pitt joins the government, July 1766.

Townshend's Acts, introduced into Parliament, May 13, 1767: passed in June.

collection, while the measures of coercion, which America's immediate resistance forced him to undertake, cost about £170,000 more. Greed, at any rate, was not one of the influences which made Parliament obstinate in its purpose to tax.*

"American Department" established, Dec. 1767.

Boston, as usual, distinguished itself among the chorus of protests, and the irritated Ministry garrisoned it with English troops, threatening at the same time to bring home agitators to be tried in England. Then the mistake of five years before was repeated: the greater part of the Revenue Act was repealed, but the duty on tea was maintained for the sake of principle. Boston renewed its riots, and in one of them a body of British soldiers, acting under great provocation, fired and killed four men. Before the excitement arising from this misfortune had died down, a British revenue-schooner was taken and burnt by armed smugglers. This was followed up by the publication of some letters written by the Governor of Massachusetts to a friend in England, in which he had used, as men will privately, somewhat harsh expressions about the people he governed. The colony was still wrathful when a fleet of tea ships arrived in the principal American harbours, despatched by the East India Company in the hope of getting a little money to pay its way. At Charleston the tea was landed, and stored in cellars so damp that it became useless: at New York a landing was refused, but no further steps taken: Boston raided the ships by night and flung their cargo into the harbour.

Boston riots, June 1768.
Convention in Faneuil Hall, Sept. 22.
Garrison placed in the town, Sept. 28.
Repeal announced, July 1769: carried, April 1770.
The "Boston massacre," Mar. 1770.
The "Gaspee" incident, June 9, 1772.
The Whately-Hutchison letters, 1773.
The "Boston tea-party," Dec. 16, 1773.

To the English nation the act of Boston stood for the

* "The sordid purpose was surrendered on our side, and only the constitutional motive was retained, in the belief that the sordid element alone prevailed in the colonies."—Lord Acton.

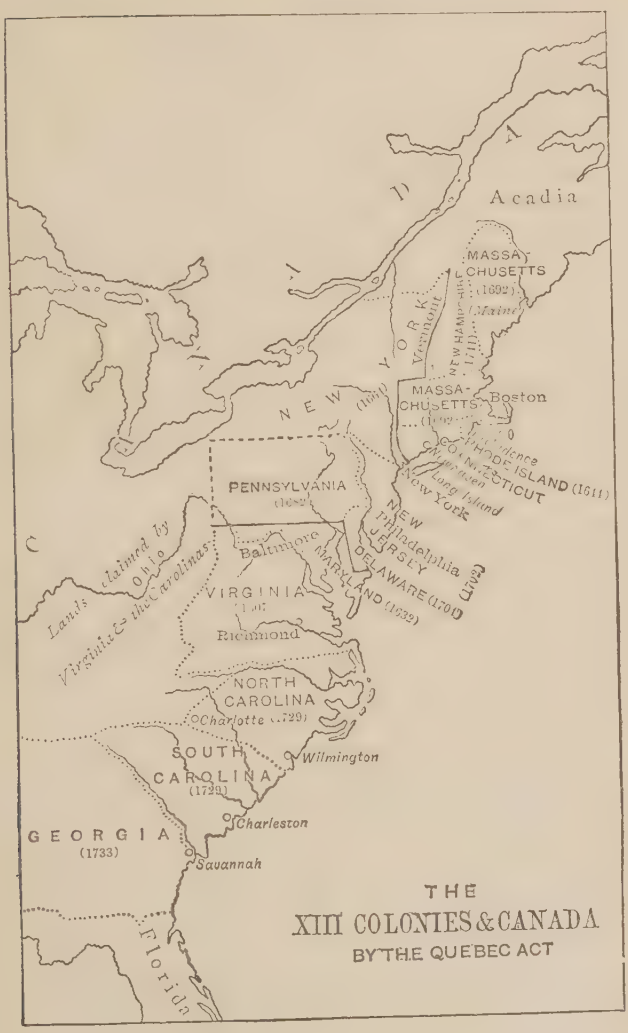
attitude of all the colonies; the humorous evasion of Carolina and the passive resistance of New York were forgotten in indignation with this perpetually riotous town, and Parliament retaliated by a series of equally violent Acts. The port of Boston was closed to commerce, the charter of Massachusetts partially cancelled, and the garrison quartered directly upon the townsfolk. At the same time it was provided that any British officer accused of illegality in carrying out his instructions should be tried in England, not in the rebellious colony—a law easy of justification, but rendered odious because people confused it with the threat of a few years before. With these four Riot Acts, as they might be called, was joined the Act already mentioned,* which gave the Canadians their own religion —but which alarmed and enraged every colony from Connecticut to Virginia by making the Ohio the south-western boundary of Canada, and so cutting off from the coastal settlements all hope of expansion and a good deal of land already taken up by their own people. In that particular, indeed, the Quebec Act lost its fairness and became oppressive; for the Ohio valley had never been occupied by French settlers, and was already peopled by Virginian and Pennsylvanian farmers; and to put them under French law, which the Act did, was no less unjust than to put Montreal under English law, which the Act was designed to prevent.

The Five Acts, 1774.

C. The American Revolution.

The colonies were still far from union; but the Five Acts drove them nearer than they had ever been before. If Parliament could revoke the King's charter granted to Massachusetts, no colony had any guarantee for

* P. 99.


Acadia
MASSA-CHUSETTS (1692)
(Maine)
NEW HAMPSHIRE (1711)
Vermont
NEW YORK
MASSA-CHUSETTS
Boston
Providence
PHODE ISLAND (1611)
CONNECTICUT
Newhaven
Long Island
New York
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW JERSEY
Philadelphia
DELAWARE (1701)
MARYLAND (1632)
Baltimore
VIRGINIA
Richmond
Lands claimed by Ohio
Virginia & the Carolinas
NORTH CAROLINA
Charlotte
SOUTH CAROLINA (1729)
Wilmington
Charleston
GEORGIA (1733)
Savannah
Florida
THE
XIII COLONIES & CANADA
BY THE QUEBEC ACT

security. Six colonies* claimed strips of the territory between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi; the Quebec Act destroyed the claims of three, and the other three might be similarly treated at any moment. A congress, irregularly but enthusiastically chosen, met in Philadelphia to voice the grievances of twelve colonies; it reiterated the well-known arguments, and replied to the closing of Boston harbour by a boycott of English goods. Even then, if Boston had not loomed so large in English eyes, conciliation might have been possible, and Pitt (now Earl of Chatham) advised Parliament to close with their offer of external taxation rights—"regulation of commerce" he and they called it—doing so fairly and generously, not in Townshend's spirit of cheap smartness. But the tea riots were too recent and too impudent, and neither Parliament nor the nation was in a conciliatory mood.

The colonies draw towards union.

First Continental Congress meets, Sept. 1, 1774.

And now became plain the strategy of Samuel Adams, most influential and most prejudiced of Boston citizens. Three years before he had organized throughout the colonies a system of "committees of correspondence," which became, like the Jacobin clubs throughout France in 1793, centres of disaffection always ready for a concerted rising. Early in 1775 Massachusetts called out its militia and prepared for active resistance to the British army of occupation. There was a skirmish at Lexington, and a running fight between troops and militiamen from Concord back towards Boston. Instantly the news spread from colony to colony, the secret committees called their adherents to arms, the

The Committees of Correspondence founded, Nov. 1772.

Affair at Lexington, April 19, 1775.

* Massachusetts, Connecticut, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia.

royal governors were driven out, the offices of State seized by friends of the Revolution, and the slow-moving masses of the people found themselves headed by active partisans of Massachusetts, who called on them to rise and drive the English murderers into the sea. The loyalists, puzzled and helpless, found it wisest to keep quiet; that large half-indifferent aggregation of dull minds which we call public opinion was being urged by the incessant efforts of the Adams party in the direction of independence. A second congress met at Philadelphia and advised expostulation, but Massachusetts was already far beyond that. The militiamen were besieging Boston, where a new army under Burgoyne and Clinton reinforced the garrison on 25th May. The next day Congress called out the New York militia: three weeks later it resolved to form a continental army, and called Washington to be its commander. News of the stubborn fight of Bunker's Hill (falsely so-called, for it took place on a neighbouring hill, Breed's) stimulated the revolutionary bodies to more confident resistance; and Congress set about completing its organization for defence by bringing Canada into line with its sister-colonies to the southward.

The second Continental Congress meets, May 10.

Fight at Breed's Hill, June 16.

The Congress of 1774 had already issued an address to the Canadians, which, with many quotations from celebrated French authors, called on them as brothers to claim all the rights of Englishmen. Its sincerity is rather discounted by the fact that the same Congress had just denounced the Canadians and their religion as foes to all true liberty. Early in 1775 it was ascertained that Canada was defenceless and that its French inhabitants would remain inactive in case of revolt—they had bitter memories of war, and

Oct. 26, 1774.

were threatened with a devastating war if they joined the English. Soon after Lexington American volunteers surprised Ticonderoga and Crown Point—the first aggressive act of the revolting colonies. Early in the autumn an organized attack on the St Lawrence settlements was made by two routes, Montgomery moving along the Richelieu on Montreal, Arnold marching by a blazed track from the Kennebec directly against Quebec. Montreal was abandoned, and for a few months Quebec, gallantly defended by Carleton, was the only spot of British territory left in North America. But the spring brought a fleet from home that forced Arnold (leader since Montgomery's death in an attack on Quebec) to retire to the Richelieu line: and the arrival of Burgoyne with a large army drove him back into New York territory and re-established British authority in the northern province.

Lake Champlain forts taken by Ethan Allen, May 10.

Montreal abandoned, Nov. 11.

Attack on Quebec, Dec. 31.

Quebec relieved, May 6, 1776.

The Americans could console themselves with the counterstroke by which Washington had compelled the evacuation of Boston and so left Massachusetts free of war for the future. This, however, transferred the British army to New York, where it drove the American troops from their position on Long Island, entered New York City, and at last manœuvred Washington out of the State altogether and secured the southern end of the Hudson-Richelieu line.

Boston evacuated, Mar. 17.

New York becomes the British head-quarters.

Battle of Long Island, Aug. 27.

Washington retreats to Pennsylvania, end of Nov.

Meanwhile Congress had taken the final step. The bitterness of the colonies against Parliament had become personal enmity to the King who controlled and the nation which supported it. They had appealed to Cæsar, and found that Cæsar was at the back of

all the acts they complained of. Moreover, during the last months of 1775 they had sought vainly for allies; they had tried to raise Indian war parties for the attack on Canada, and they had implored French help against Britain as urgently as twenty years before they had implored British help against France. But Johnson's son remained loyal and brought his Iroquois to Carleton's aid; and while French help was slow in coming, the British government was able to strengthen its American armies with Hanoverian and Hessian troops. Disappointment at their own failure, vexation at the enemy's success, gave edge to the colonists' wrath; and on July 4, 1776, Congress adopted a Declaration of Independence which began with doubtful philosophy, strengthened it with a mob of practical arguments, good, bad, and indifferent, and wound up in a bold and lofty strain, that deserved much better preface, by renouncing British allegiance and calling into existence the free and independent States of America; "for the support of which declaration," said the signers, "we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour."

Both sides seek outside aid.

The Declaration of Independence.

At the moment there was not a British soldier within the thirteen States. But the operations round New York, already spoken of, were the beginning of a determined attempt to crush American resistance. North and South were to be separated by a military occupation of New York and Pennsylvania: then, it was hoped, the natural elements of discord between New Englanders and Virginians would soon dissolve this newly-announced union. On Washington's side, therefore, the war must be one of dogged holding on to the Middle States (where also were his food-supplies), securing his

Strategy of the ensuing war.

Washington on the defensive.

communication with New England across the Upper Hudson and with Virginia across the heads of Chesapeake Bay. In 1777 both these lines were attacked: Howe, the British commander-in-chief, sailed up Chesapeake Bay, defeated Washington at Brandywine, occupied Philadelphia (to which a fictitious importance was given by its being the meeting-place of Congress), and drove the American * army to wretched winter quarters in a loyalist district at Valley Forge. Clinton had been left at New York with orders to force the line of the Hudson which was held by Gates, and meet another British army which was advancing from Canada. But both these movements were made too late in the year: if Howe and Clinton had started when Burgoyne did, Washington's army might have been annihilated and Gates crushed between his two assailants. For Burgoyne marched from Crown Point on July 1: within the month he had crossed into the Hudson Valley, secured Fort Edward on the Hudson, and invested Fort Schuyler on the Mohawk, to keep that road also open for expected reinforcements. Then his difficulties began. The troops that were to have met him did not appear: on his left flank swarmed the vindictive militia of New England: his Indian allies grew restless, his Canadian troops slipped home to get in their harvests, the loyalists of New York were half-hearted and ready to run at the first reverse. A detachment of his force was defeated at Bennington, and the scare of it broke up the loyalist investment of Fort Schuyler: an attack on Stillwater, twice repulsed after desperate fighting, cost him his Indians and the rest of his loyalists. Fort Edward was

Howe's attack:

Brandywine, Sept. 11, 1777; Germantown, Oct. 4.

Burgoyne's attack: he reaches the Hudson, July 30:

Bennington, Aug. 16: Battles of Stillwater, Sept. 19, Oct. 7.

* This adjective will be used, conveniently though inaccurately, for all that belongs to the United States.

seized before he could retreat; and on October 16 he surrendered the starving remnant of his army, the only part of it whose gallantry had deserved success, to Gates at Saratoga. Clinton very willingly stayed his advance and fell back to New York: the succours from Ontario were defeated at Oriskany: and New England remained in unbroken connection with the central army and government of the States.

Surrender at Saratoga, Oct. 16.

The news of Saratoga gave the Revolution its first real hope of final success. Left to themselves, these divided States must have come back under the dominion of Britain; the revolutionary leaders might have retired across the mountains —there would probably have been an emigration to the western prairies, and a New Englander republic in the Mississippi valley as implacable as the Transvaal Boers and far more dangerous—but the thirteen States would have again become colonies. They deserved no more, when each fought and worked only for its own hand. The ports of New England, the plantations of Virginia, brought wealth to the country around them, while the army on which their freedom depended was starving in Pennsylvania. At the moment of Union a Southern congressman talked freely of the "low cunning" of Massachusetts. Franklin had once offered Grenville, as a substitute for the Stamp Act, that each colony should vote whatever sums were required for general defence; the value of the offer was now seen, when Congress found itself unable to get a penny from the States, and was driven to manufacturing paper money * and drawing bills on its European agents who had nothing in hand to meet them, in order to

The importance of Burgoyne's surrender.

Divisions among the States.

* In four years two hundred million dollars in paper were issued. Their value in specie by 1777 was 33 per cent., and by 1780 only two per cent. of their face value. They were never redeemed. The separate States also issued a paper currency.

provide Washington's troops with the simplest necessaries of existence.

But the surrender of Burgoyne brought about an alliance of the States with France, and from that moment independence became really possible. The King himself was frightened into offering everything short of that, but it was too late. Congress, as proud as it was impotent, refused to treat except on the basis of independence. The fear of a coming French fleet drove Clinton, who had succeeded Howe, from Philadelphia back to New York; though the fleet itself on arrival did no more than threaten an English garrison in Rhode Island and take its departure for the West Indies.* But the mischief was done: Britain was no longer supreme on the seas, and it was the French turn to defeat her by detaining her best troops in Europe and cutting off at the critical moment her connection with the forces in America.

France joins in the war, Feb. 6, 1778.

Royal Commissioners attempt to negotiate with Congress, June 4-17.

French fleet on American coast, July.

Death of Chatham, May 11, 1778.

The last war's strategy was still in the minds of combatants on both sides, and fragments of it reappeared. There was an Iroquois raid on Northern Pennsylvania, and a war of bitter retaliation on the Iroquois country below Lake Ontario. Repeated efforts were made by the British at New York to recapture the line of the Hudson, and Arnold has made his name infamous by his attempt to betray into British hands the fort at West Point, the key of Washington's communications. Meanwhile, Clinton had con-

Progress of the war.

Sept., 1780.

* The policy of France was :—
first, to secure for herself the British West Indies ;
secondly, to expel the British from India ;
and only *thirdly*, to free the Colonies after they had served sufficiently to divert the British forces from the Indies.
Hence the French fleets spent most of their time in the West Indies.

ceived the idea of rolling up the American line of defence by advance from north and south at once, as Amherst had once rolled up the French line from Ontario and Quebec. Savannah in Georgia was taken, then Charleston in South Carolina, and Lord Cornwallis was left to complete the work at that end, while Clinton returned to watch Washington. Cornwallis defeated Gates (of Saratoga fame) and gained a sort of victory over his successor, Greene: but he had been drawn into Virginia before his work was done in the South, and presently he found himself shut in at Yorktown on Chesapeake Bay, with both Carolinas again lost to Britain, and his small army surrounded by a French-American force under Washington and Rochambeau. Clinton lay idling at New York, wondering when he was going to be attacked. Again, as at Quebec in 1760, command of the sea decided the event: but this time it was a French fleet under de Grasse that held the Bay, and Cornwallis was forced, after strenuous resistance, to an honourable surrender.

Dec. 1778.

May 1780.

Cornwallis' attack: Camden, Aug. 16, 1780; Guilford Court House, Mar. 15, 1781; Eutaw Springs, Sept. 8.

Surrender at Yorktown, Oct. 19, 1781.

If one might judge by the power Britain was putting forth against France, this loss of seven thousand men was but an incident in the war. The Americans indeed so looked upon it, and Washington still despaired of ultimate success. But as Saratoga convinced France, so Yorktown convinced Britain. The American war had not been very popular with the nation; indeed, after the first zeal to punish New England's insolence and Virginia's ingratitude, public opinion had come to look upon it rather as a civil war between two bodies of colonists,

The importance of the Yorktown surrender.

British view of the war.

the loyalists and the revolutionaries, in which Britain was helping the loyalists partly with British regiments, partly by subsidizing troops of other nations, as she had done in previous wars with France. And with proper management that is exactly what the war might have been. The Middle and Southern States had been full of loyalists waiting to be encouraged and organized, and New York privateers made havoc among the American merchant-fleet. A Wolfe or a Forbes could have done it; but Pitt was out of power, and we had only Clintons. So when this last enterprise of Cornwallis, carried out in the very hot-bed of loyalism, ended in such ignominious failure, the British nation woke to a full knowledge of what its troops were doing, and the king found himself forced to give up all schemes of revenge. Yet, while no one any longer disputed the necessity of giving the United States their freedom, it would be ungenerous to abandon altogether the men who had preferred an Imperial to a local patriotism; and the war dragged on listlessly for another year in the hope of getting better terms for the loyalists.

Loyalists neglected.

Britain discovers the truth.

Peace motion carried in Parliament, Feb. 28, 1782.

No such remorse visited the nation when it thought of the war with France. That state had flung itself unprovoked into the fight, bringing Spain in its train;* the allied fleets had promenaded the English Channel, and an alliance of the other European powers (known as the Armed Neutrality) threatened to impose unbearable condi-

The European war. Spain enters, June 16; 1779;

* Spain wanted to regain her lost territory: hence her main efforts were directed

(*a*) unsuccessfully against Gibraltar;
(*b*) successfully against Minorca;
(*c*) successfully from Havana against Florida.

Holland's only interest was the protection of her commerce; as she considered it necessary for this purpose to join the Armed Neutrality, England declared war on her.

tions on the actions of the British navy. When Holland in the winter of 1780 joined France and Spain, Britain flew to meet the three antagonists with a kind of warlike joy. At last there was fighting to be done of which Britain could be proud; and Elliott's defence of Gibraltar, together with Rodney's brilliant victories at sea, were fit subjects for national pride. Nevertheless it was time for the war to end. America was free, and almost bankrupt; France had gained from her efforts little but financial difficulties and the spread of revolutionary ideas among her people; Spain had spent countless treasure to regain one fortress, and was still outside it; Holland was ruined, her colonies almost all torn away, her commerce destroyed. Britain herself was impoverished, in difficulties with Ireland, unhurt nowhere but in India. So peace came, welcome to all on any conditions. To her enemies Britain gave only the island of Minorca and the now useless district of Florida; to her children she yielded freedom, and with it the lands of an empire that stretched already from the Atlantic to the Lakes and the Mississippi, and was soon to expand till another ocean determined its bounds.*

Holland joins, Dec. 20, 1780; Siege of Gibraltar, July 8, 1779, to close of war. Rodney beats the Spanish fleet off Cape St Vincent, Jan. 16, 1780; beats de Grasse in the West Indies, Apr. 12, 1782. Results of the war.

The Treaty of Versailles, Sept. 30, 1783. The Treaty of Paris, Sept. 3.

It is well for the student of history to keep always in mind the true character of this American war. The freedom of the United States was due neither to Franklin nor to Jefferson nor even to Washington: it was begun, furthered, and finally achieved by the incompetence of English generals and the eager desire of France for her revenge. Sea-power wrested America from Britain as it wrested Canada and India from France. But the power that kept alive the

A note on the war.

* For details see Appendix.

fire of revolt through five weary years till help came over the sea was American entirely: it was the untiring energy of the revolutionary leaders—of Patrick Henry, ex-storekeeper, ex-farmer, bankrupt, lawyer, and the greatest of American orators—of Jefferson, the man who believed in the people as much as he did in himself—of the two Adams, John and Samuel, whose diplomacy had organized the Revolution. And above all it was the patience and courage and tactical skill of Washington. He was the leader of a perpetually varying and always undisciplined army against trained regiments in superior force, the servant of a Congress jealous of every success and mercilessly critical of every disaster: but by his endurance he so created a common patriotism among men of all shades of opinion as to secure in the end united action and complete triumph. His experience of war was not large: his learning was not remarkable: he had neither fluency of speech nor originality of thought. But his judgment was excellent, his firmness unshakable, his honour unblemished: by unswerving self-command he reached the summit of fame, and with calm self-denial took nothing for himself when the nation he had made acclaimed his supremacy. The empire that he built was not for Britain: but the British race may count him among the best of its empire-builders.

The American leaders.

George Washington.

D. The New Constitution.

It may be easily imagined that the creation of a new and bitterly anti-British State on the Canadian borders influenced considerably the fate of the territories which Britain still retained. The boundary line had been drawn through four of the Great

Effects of the war on Canada.

Lakes, leaving Michigan entirely to the United States—a just decision, since the destruction of the Ontario-Iroquois settlement and the capture by Virginian rangers of the Western forts at Kaskaskia and Vincennes had, before the war ended, brought all the land south of the Lakes under the control of Congress. In the east Acadia still was a difficulty, for its boundaries had not yet been defined. But everywhere, defined or indefinite, the line was an imaginary one—the centre of great lakes on which both countries had ports, or a parallel of latitude that corresponded to no natural features at all. And just beyond this line, within the next few years, homes were found for the men whom of all others the Americans hated most bitterly. All the efforts of British statesmen had failed to secure an amnesty for the loyalists. At the peace they came streaming across the Canadian borders, leaving behind them all that had made their life happy, forced to starve and struggle for years before the new country could become their home. Along the bays of Nova Scotia, in the valleys where they made New Brunswick, on the Eastern Farms round Sherbrooke, and throughout a fertile forest-land from the Ottawa to Lake Huron, the United Empire Loyalists built up a British Canada, and gloried in the title they so well deserved. The Mohawk Iroquois, too, who had fought well and loyally after their fashion, settled down to quiet farming and intelligent citizenship in a district that still bears the name of their chief.

Boundary-lines.

The U.E. loyalist immigration.

Mohawk settlement at Brantford.

This introduction into a French province of a people accustomed to British law completely altered the situation in Canada and made the Quebec Act unfair and obsolete. William Pitt the younger, no less a friend to colonies than his father had been, now governed

England: and in 1786 he sent out Carleton (now Lord Dorchester) as governor-general of all the provinces, with instructions to prepare a full report on all branches of Canadian affairs—commerce, agriculture, law, defence, and political conditions. The result of this was the Constitutional Act of 1791, which divided Canada proper into two provinces, with the Ottawa River as their common boundary. To each of these was given a Governor, a nominee Council, and an elected Assembly: Lower Canada, north and east of Montreal, retained the French civil law, Upper Canada (the new U.E. loyalist settlement) was given English civil law: in both provinces criminal law was to be administered after the English fashion. The home government reserved to itself the levying of Customs duties, which were still looked upon as regulating trade rather than producing revenue: but the money so raised was given to the two Legislatures to spend as they wished. Somewhat similar constitutions had been granted already to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island: and the five young colonies, the first-fruits of our newly-learnt wisdom, began tranquilly their prosperous career.

The Canada Act.

Constitution given to Nova Scotia, 1758: New Brunswick, 1786: P. Edward Id., 1773.

At first sight it seems a daring thing for Pitt to have given Canada a constitution at that particular moment. The French province contained about 130,000 people, the U.E. province barely 20,000: and in France, the mother-land of that enormous majority, a revolution greater than the American was already in full blast. As it happened, however, the French Canadians were the last people in the world to take up a revolution on abstract principles. When in later years they feared the abolition of their land laws or their language, they could be fiery and

The French Revolution affects Canada but little.

troublesome: but they had already more liberty under the British rule than they had ever connected with the name of France, all the influences of their life told against equality, and the first years of the United States had given them an object lesson in fraternity which hardly encouraged them to desire it. The clergy, too, always a strong power in Lower Canada, set their faces against all forms of revolution, and Canada spent in peace those twenty years which convulsed and shattered and recreated Europe.

Canadian views on "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity."

Of those years and the course of British policy through them one cannot write here in detail. But it is important to note that the matter at stake on our side was really the continued existence of the Empire. Every stroke Napoleon dealt at Britain, and many of those with which he crushed the Continental Powers, were aimed at the destruction of our colonial and commercial system.* And our long list of victories began when our Ministers saw his aim, and devoted the strength of the country to defeating it. He threatened our Indian Empire with his expedition to Egypt: we destroyed his fleet there and in the end captured his army. He called to his aid the navies of Holland and Spain, and planned to add that of Denmark: we took the Danish fleet into safe keeping, ruined the Dutch, and annihilated at Trafalgar the naval organization of Spain and France. He turned to conquer the

The Napoleonic wars.

Battle of the Nile, Aug. 1, 1798; Battle of Aboukir Bay, Mar. 21, 1799; Conventions of Cairo and Alexandria, June and August. Copenhagen, Apr. 2, 1801, and Sept. 2, 1807;

* He made an attempt in 1800 to reconstitute the colonial empire of France by (*a*) regaining Louisiana from Spain (the treaty of San Ildefonso), (*b*) occupying Hispaniola—in which he was thwarted by Toussaint l'Ouverture, (*c*) making peace with Britain. When he failed in Hispaniola and found himself again at war with Britain, Louisiana was useless to him, and he sold it to the United States for twelve million dollars.

whole continent of Europe, and weld it into one mighty weapon for the destruction of British trade *; we cut off Europe from the trade of the world. Meanwhile the over-sea colonies of all our enemies had fallen into the hands of the Power whom Jervis and Nelson had made supreme at sea. At last the unwieldy fabric of Napoleon's empire began to fall apart, dissolved by British subsidies and strained by the coercion of our blockade: the Wellesleys fastened our army immovably upon the Peninsula and drained the life-blood of France at that end of Europe, while the nations it had subdued rose in triumphant hate to beat its ruler back from the other upon an exhausted kingdom. Napoleon, conqueror of Europe on second thoughts, is really the heir of the anti-British Bourbon policy, the leader of France in a war of vengeance for Blenheim and Quebec: but the greatest general of his age was especially liable to perpetuate the Bourbon mistake, and to waste his strength in manœuvring armies against an empire whose impregnable defence is the Ocean.

Camperdown, Oct. 11, 1797; Trafalgar, Oct. 21, 1805. Berlin Decree, Nov. 21, 1806; Orders in Council, Jan. 7 and Nov. 11, 1807; Milan Decree, Dec. 17, 1807. The Peninsular War, Aug. 1, 1808, to Apr. 13, 1814. Invasion of Russia, June to Dec. 1812; War of Liberation, 1813-14.

Nor must we forget that "the Empire" means every separate part of the Empire. In matters of this kind the colonies, especially the Australian colonies,

* The Berlin decree provided that—

"Because England

(*a*) treats as hostile and therefore good prize all property of Frenchmen;

(*b*) applies blockade to open towns and coasts;

(*c*) announces blockades which are not effective;

"therefore—

(*a*) the British Isles are blockaded and all trade thereto is forbidden;

(*b*) all English subjects found on the Continent are prisoners of war and all British property is lawful prize;

(*c*) vessels coming from Britain or her colonies are seizable."

are apt to think of these Napoleonic wars as matters beyond their immediate concern. Because Sydney was not besieged, because no hostile fleets joined battle in Storm Bay, Australia plumes herself on her peaceful origin and talks pityingly of the blood-stained lands beyond the oceans. Yet Australia was conquered on the shores of Europe; Jervis and Nelson did for her what Hawke and Wolfe did for Canada: we owe it to Trafalgar that the island-continent to-day is free and peaceful from end to end. What it might have been we see on the new maps of Africa—a parti-coloured congeries of European settlements, each suspicious of its aggressive neighbour. But the event of the Napoleonic wars placed in Britain's hands the unfettered control of all Australia; so that when in later years the French asked how much of the continent we claimed, our Minister could say "The whole," and with that answer dismiss them.

Our wars against Napoleon were Imperial wars.

Lord John Russell's answer to France, 1839.

Quiet as Canada was during the greater part of the European turmoil, it was not to escape without a taste of war. The United States had begun their career, not unnaturally perhaps, with very bitter feelings against the mother-country. While Washington lived he did all in his power to allay the bitterness; but his death in 1799 put an extreme party in control of the government, and Napoleon's transfer of Louisiana in 1803 renewed the old friendship with France. Consequently when the Emperor's Berlin and Milan Decrees threatened with capture every neutral vessel that carried British goods or had touched at a British port, and the English Orders in Council retaliated similarly on neutrals trading with France, it was about the Orders rather than the Decrees that the United States felt indignant.* There were other

Ill-feeling between Britain and the U.S.

* These Decrees and Orders reduced the oversea trade of the United States from £51,000,000 in 1807 to £16,500,000 in 1808.

grievances, too—one was that British frigates lay off New York harbour and searched every American vessel for British deserters. America had just grounds for complaint; but Britain was engaged in a life-and-death struggle with Napoleon, and neither combatant was likely to consider the feelings of outsiders who came in their way. The Congress of 1811 was largely made up of clever young men (Clay and Calhoun were two of its new members) who had never known war, and believed ardently in the "manifest destiny" of their country. Clay was for war at once—war with Britain, because that meant the conquest of Canada,* and the dictation of terms of peace "at Quebec or Halifax." So war was determined on, though the Orders in Council were withdrawn, and three American armies were to be thrown upon the quiet Canadian farm-lands.

Congress declares war, June 19, 1812.

Orders in Council repealed, June 23.

It was not only the Iroquois whom Britain had treated well; along and beyond the western lakes tribe after tribe mustered to the defence of their Canadian friends, led by the Shawnee chief Tecumseh. So the western army of invasion found itself driven back to its base at Detroit, where it surrendered; the key forts of Lake Michigan and Lake Superior were taken, and the whole Michigan peninsula was for a time subject to Canadian authority. The second army, advancing by Niagara, was twice repulsed by inferior British forces; and the third, to which had been given the Richelieu line of attack, never got beyond the frontier. Congress had hoped for a responsive rising among the Canadians themselves, but the U.E. men had memories. In 1813 little more was done, though the

Unsuccessful invasions of 1812.

Detroit taken by Canadians, Aug. 16.

Queenston, Oct. 13, Fort Erie, Nov. 28.

* New England had no sympathy with the invasion of Canada, which was a Western project.

American fresh-water fleet gained the control of Lake Erie; Canada, standing on the defensive, successfully blocked the renewed Niagara and St Lawrence attacks. But by this time the British navy was coming into action. Isolated ships had, at the beginning of the war, unsuccessfully challenged heavier American ships to single combat, and their capture had excited enthusiasm throughout the States; in 1813 the "*Chesapeake* and *Shannon*" fight damped this ardour, and before the year's end every American man-of-war was either taken or shut up in harbour.

Shannon takes *Chesapeake*, June 1, 1813.

The next year began with an European peace, and two British armies, thus set free, were at once despatched across the Atlantic. The troops already there had given a good account of themselves; Oswego, now an outpost of New York State, was taken by a surprise, and a strong American army was repulsed after a stubborn fight in the dark at Lundy's Lane within hearing of Niagara Falls. The new armies, made up of Wellington's best regiments, sorely missed their leader. The northern — led by the Governor-General Prevost, whose military judgment was as bad as his political judgment was sound—failed through bad handling in an attack on Plattsburg, the American advanced post on Lake Champlain. The southern marred the effect of a well-planned and daring advance on Washington by wilfully firing the public buildings there, and then sailed for New Orleans to be wasted in a desperate attack on the defending army, which Andrew Jackson had skilfully intrenched in an impregnable position. Before this last battle was fought peace had been made at Ghent. The European peace had removed the grievances which

Napoleon abdicates, April 11, 1814.

Peace of Paris, May 30.

Capture of Oswego, May 6; Lundy's Lane, July 25.

Retreat from Plattsburg, Sept.

Capture of Washington, Aug. 24; Battle of New Orleans, Jan. 6, 1815.

Peace of Ghent, Dec. 24, 1814.

caused the war, and they were not mentioned in the treaty, which did little more than restore captures on either side. The United States tried to secure the formal renunciation of the right of impressment, but failed to do so.

Effect of the war on the United States,

In the States the war had not been popular—it was rather a politicians' war from beginning to end. The New England States had even threatened to secede from the Union. The confederation was still young, and could ill spare the 30,000 dead soldiers, the 1,700 captured ships, the £20,000,000 expended, which had been the price of the peace of Ghent. But to Canada, in spite of the cruel ravages of the border war, the three years of struggle had brought confidence and prosperity and the sense of a common nationality through all its territories. The heroes of the war were common property: and in that list men saw names from the three nationalities of Britain, from French Canadians, from U.E. loyalists, from the friendly Indian tribes. Brock and Tecumseh had taken Detroit: Salaberry and McDonnell had saved Montreal: and all the petty grievances of past years disappeared in a white heat of patriotism which welded the Canadas into one, while Congress saw vanish its last hopes of winning over a people whose homes it had so wantonly attacked and so brutally destroyed.

and on Canada.

E. Constitutional Struggles and Reforms.

For the next twenty years the history of Canada is mainly taken up with matters of local interest. It was an era of expansion: the waste lands were rapidly populated with European immigrants, and the provinces

were opened up and at the same time drawn closer together by improved methods of communication. The Lachine Canal near Montreal, the Welland Canal round Niagara Falls, were the beginning of works which have since given an unbroken waterway from Lake Superior to the Atlantic: and the difficult passage of the St Lawrence River between its tidal waters and Lake Ontario was evaded by another long canal which struck across from Kingston (once Fort Frontenac) to Bytown on the Ottawa. Fisheries and farms, commerce and education flourished alike under the care of such governors as the Earl of Dalhousie.

Material growth and prosperity.

The Rideau Canal.

But the long peace was loosening the bonds that war had welded; and the Act of 1791 began to grow cumbersome upon the limbs of a nation so rapidly growing. That Act had given Canada representative but not responsible government: the elected Assemblies could help to make laws, but had no enforceable control over the executive bodies: and the Councils, composed of Crown nominees, were often antagonistic to the expressed wishes of the people. Canada was the first of British colonies on which trial had been made of the new colonial system: the partial self-government which Pitt's Act had granted was avowedly an experiment, and the time was coming when new experiments would be required to meet new conditions.

The nation grows restless.

In Lower Canada the disturbance arose mainly from racial quarrels. The French formed a great majority* in the province and controlled the assembly: the British minority almost monopolized the Council and dominated the Government. Neither party did much to conciliate the other. The

The racial difficulty in Lower Canada.

* Lord Durham estimated that Lower Canada contained 450,000 French to 150,000 British. In Upper Canada there were about 400,000 British.

Assembly had control of all taxation except the Customs, and used its power to make the merchants pay as much and the land-owners as little as possible. It made an attempt to give its mere resolutions the force of laws. Adequate representation was refused to British settlers in the Eastern Farms, and a noisy clique among the French talked wildly about an independent republic and a "*nation Canadienne*." The British party, on the other hand, was too prone to look on its French fellow-citizens as a conquered race: successive governors* abandoned the neutrality which was their duty and used their power to ignore and sometimes to insult the Assembly. When supplies were refused them, they annexed the Customs revenue and supplemented it with the proceeds of Crown lands, sales, and leases; bills were vetoed on every possible pretence, and even when the rejection was justifiable it was made unnecessarily harsh.

Quarrels in Upper Canada. The Clergy Reserves.

In Upper Canada the racial differences did not exist, but religious quarrels amply supplied their place. The Act of 1791 had set apart for the support of the Protestant clergy one-seventh of all lands granted by the Crown. In Lower Canada this was simply an endowment of the church of the minority, the Catholic Church having received similar and larger endowments before 1763; and any grievance in connection with it was thus merged in the racial dispute. In Upper Canada practically all the settlers were Protestants of one kind or another, and therefore claimed for their own denominations a share in the endowment. The Imperial Government tried to compromise by limiting it to the established Churches of Great Britain—*i.e.*, the Anglican

* The colonial governors of those days (see Australia for other examples) looked upon themselves as chief ministers of the Crown controlling unruly Cabinets and Legislatures.

and Presbyterian: but this failed to satisfy the Anglicans, who wanted the whole for themselves, and in no way appeased the denominations still shut out, which contained a very large proportion of the U.E. Loyalists. The political grievance also existed in Upper Canada, where the Council and the Government had fallen into the hands of a clique, known as the "Family Compact," which controlled the Governor* and judges, directed the banks, and distributed Crown lands lavishly among its friends. The Compact was strongly Anglican, and so the political and religious questions became one. The maritime provinces, too, were struggling against their imperfect form of government, and striving to acquire for their assemblies control of all taxation and of the executive body; but neither party went to extremes, and reforms were eventually brought about by peaceful means only.

The Family Compact.

In the two Canadas this rapidly became impossible. The malcontents of the lower province gathered round Papineau, an orator no less indiscreet than persuasive, who had been for many years Speaker of the Quebec Assembly. In Ontario a Scotch Radical editor, William Lyon Mackenzie, championed the cause of reform, but soon alienated the best part of his following by hinting at "freedom from the baneful domination of the mother-country"—which to the French Canadians might mean real independence, but to the U.E. loyalist savoured of absorption into the hated republic further south. It was the time of Reform Governments at home, and the Whigs did everything in their power to satisfy legitimate Canadian grievances: first the Customs, then the land revenue, were handed over to

The Revolutionary leaders, Papineau and Mackenzie.

Whig Ministries in Britain, 1830-41.

* Each province, of course, had a Governor to itself.

the mutinous Assembly at Quebec: the new Governor-General, Lord Gosford, promised absolute impartiality and the settlement of the Clergy Reserves in accordance with the Assembly's wishes. But responsible government was not to be given. It meant, so men not without warrant thought at home, an independent French community holding the lower St Lawrence, and blocking all the inland country to British commerce: and what Lower Canada could not be trusted with must be in fairness withheld from Upper Canada also.

Lord Gosford, Governor-General, 1835-8.

So Lord Gosford's mission failed, and the mutineers grew bolder daily. Papineau and Mackenzie corresponded, and the Frenchman openly advocated separation. He wrote a letter to the Speaker of the Ontario Assembly, proposing a revolution and promising help from the United States. "Let them come if they dare," said the impulsive Governor of the U.E. province: and, dissolving the Assembly upon that cry, carried the elections against Mackenzie's party by a sweeping majority. In Lower Canada, too, the disclosure of Papineau's aims alienated from him the most powerful body in the province: for the Catholic clergy had no love for Puritan New England, and no desire to see in Canada a repetition of the French Revolution. The two leaders were thus driven to extremes. Mackenzie, shut out of the Assembly, tried to imitate Samuel Adams' famous Committees of Correspondence, and arranged for a sort of Canadian Runnymede at Toronto in the coming spring; Papineau incited his compatriots to form an armed militia, and allowed them to display the tricolor. The insurgents rose prematurely near Montreal, but were quickly dispersed. Papineau fled across the border; New York and Vermont, whose

Sir Francis Head, Governor of Upper Canada, 1836-8.

The revolt breaks out at Montreal, Nov. 6, 1837;

people were inclined to aid the revolt, were kept strictly neutral by sensible governors; and the remnants of the insurgent force, which had followed their leader, were taken prisoners in the spring by the U.S. federal army.

The news from Montreal upset Mackenzie's plans, and he hastened to arrange an earlier rebellion for the 7th of December; in the meanwhile warrants were issued for his arrest, and he was compelled to make a desperate attempt on Toronto two days earlier still. All the regular troops had been sent to Montreal, but the loyalist volunteers mustered at once under Colonel M'Nab, and routed Mackenzie's men with very little difficulty. The leaders fled to the States, whence Mackenzie returned in a few weeks to seize an island in the Niagara River. The population of western New York was not so easy to keep in order as the Lake Champlain districts had been, and aided the rebels with men, provisions, and ammunition, sending them across in the steamer *Caroline* in full view of the loyal Canadian army on the opposite shore. In the excitement of the times a small British force boarded the *Caroline* by night as she lay moored to the American shore, fired her, and turned her loose to go over the Falls; and the same Americans who had openly aided Mackenzie nearly embroiled their Government in a war with Britain by their outcries about this violation of neutral soil. During the next year there was intermittent fighting along the border-line, mostly at the Detroit end of Lake Erie: but the rebellion never had a chance of permanent success, and excited nothing but hatred among the Canadians of both provinces from the moment its leaders appealed to American aid. By the end of 1838 every spark of it was quenched, and the guilty parties imprisoned or in exile.

near Toronto, Dec. 4.

Affair of the *Caroline*, Dec. 28.

Revolt ends, Dec. 1838.

The news of these risings stirred the Imperial Government to prompt and just action. The Constitution of Lower Canada was suspended in favour of a temporary government by a nominated Council, in spite of the fiery oratory of Lord Brougham, who was anxious to be a second Chatham opposing a new attack on liberty. But the measure was obviously one to meet an emergency, and the new Governor-General, Lord Durham, was instructed to use his powers with a view to the establishment of a still freer form of government while dealing as sternly as need be with the actual insurgents. Lord Durham spent five months only in Canada, during which he had, with merciful illegality, exiled the rebel leaders to Bermuda and pacified the colony: then he returned to England (like many another British statesman) a disappointed man, who had done his best in a very difficult position, and had gained by it the bitter denunciations of the malicious Brougham and a very half-hearted support from the Ministry he had served.

Lord Durham, Governor-General, May 27 to Nov. 1, 1838.

But the five months' rule had resulted in his famous Report on Canada, a monument to his memory which will remain for centuries after Brougham's name has been forgotten. Prepared under his direction by his secretaries, Buller and Wakefield (mainly by the former), the scheme of it and its final shape are entirely Durham's own. It laid bare the whole Canadian trouble—the race differences of Lower Canada, the Compact in Upper, the Clergy Reserves, and above all the irresponsibility of provincial Ministers to the provincial Legislature. Going beyond local grievances, it laid down for the first time the principle that in all internal matters colonial Ministries should be placed on exactly the same footing as the Ministry at home. "The Crown *must*

The Durham Report

advocates responsible government for the Colonies.

consent," said Durham, "to carry the Government on by means of those in whom the representative members have confidence." Four questions he proposed to reserve for Imperial control—the form of the new constitution, foreign relations, the regulation of external trade (the same old vague and mischievous phrase), and the disposal of the vast western territories of the Crown; everything else was to be left to the local legislatures. It was the beginning of responsible government beyond the British Islands. The race trouble he proposed to mitigate by joining the two Canadas in a single government, and encouraging a further federal union between all the provinces of British North America.

The Special Council, which Durham had impartially chosen from men of both races, reported strongly in favour of his proposals. Union of the Lower and Upper provinces was, they saw, the only guarantee which would secure that under responsible government the lower St Lawrence should not become a purely French stream. In 1841 the Union Act put into force most of Lord Durham's proposals, uniting the provinces, retaining under Imperial control waste lands and Church endowments (both Catholic and Protestant) making English the official language, and arranging in all other respects for the introduction of responsible government. For some years the constitutional question was still unsettled: the trouble was to decide whether the Governor was a Prime Minister nominated in England to get on as best he could with a possibly hostile Legislature, or simply a representative of the Crown bound by the Crown's constitutional duty of taking the advice of Ministers whom his Legislature supported; but the Imperial Government soon veered round to the latter view, and between 1848 and 1858 responsible government, as we now understand it, was

The Union Act.

given to all our North American colonies. The Council was made elective, the Navigation Acts were repealed, the Clergy Reserves were handed over to local control, the French language was brought back to a position of equality in official matters, and the capital of the United Province, after being shifted from Kingston to Montreal, and then made movable for some years between Toronto and Quebec, was finally established by the Queen herself at Bytown on the Ottawa, henceforth to take the name of the great stream that rushes past it.

1856.
1849.
May 9, 1853.
Ottawa, the new capital, 1857.

F. Boundary Settlements.

It was as well that the home Government did everything in its power to soothe Canadian feeling locally, for the Imperial policy of those years gave the colony little satisfaction. The adoption of a Free-trade policy by Sir Robert Peel in 1846 struck heavily at Canadian commerce, which had been fostered by the special advantages previously given to colonial over foreign products in the markets of Britain. Earl Cathcart, the Governor-General, protested in the colony's name against the change: and there was talk both in Ontario, and at New York of possible Canadian secession to the United States if the new Free-trade policy was persisted in.

Repeal of the Corn Laws, 1846.

A more fatal, because a more permanent, loss was inflicted on British North America by two boundary treaties concluded with the United States in 1842 and 1846. One concerned the century-old dispute about the ancient boundaries of Acadia. When all Acadia and Canada became British territory in 1763, the border-line between Nova Scotia (then including New Brunswick) and the Maine district of

The Maine boundary.

Massachusetts was fixed in writing by "the mouth of the river St Croix;" but no river of that name was known, the phrase having been taken from the records of a French expedition in 1603. Behind the river certain highlands were named, also without clear definition: and treaty after treaty had shifted the line of compromise this way and that over the half-explored wilderness of the Aroostook and St John valleys. Franklin during the negotiations of 1782-3 had admitted to his French colleagues—but not in so many words to the British commissioners—the correctness of the British claim, which gave the Penobscot valley to Massachusetts, the St John watershed to Nova Scotia. But Franklin's map was left in Paris, and was unknown to Britain; so that when (after an attempt at Dutch arbitration in 1827) Lord Ashburton was sent to Washington to get the difficulty settled, he was ignorant not only of the country in dispute, but of all previous admissions on the American side. Daniel Webster, the American Secretary of State, was much better informed: the British Government was not anxious to be urgent in the matter, seeing that important questions with regard to fugitive slaves had to be settled at the same time: and the Ashburton Treaty, while pretending to compromise the dispute evenly, gave Maine a fertile district that runs up like a wedge into Canadian territory almost to the St Lawrence, and left New Brunswick the owner of a remnant of barren lands cut off from any real connection with the life of the central British province.

Franklin's map.

The United States refuse to accept the King of Holland's decision.

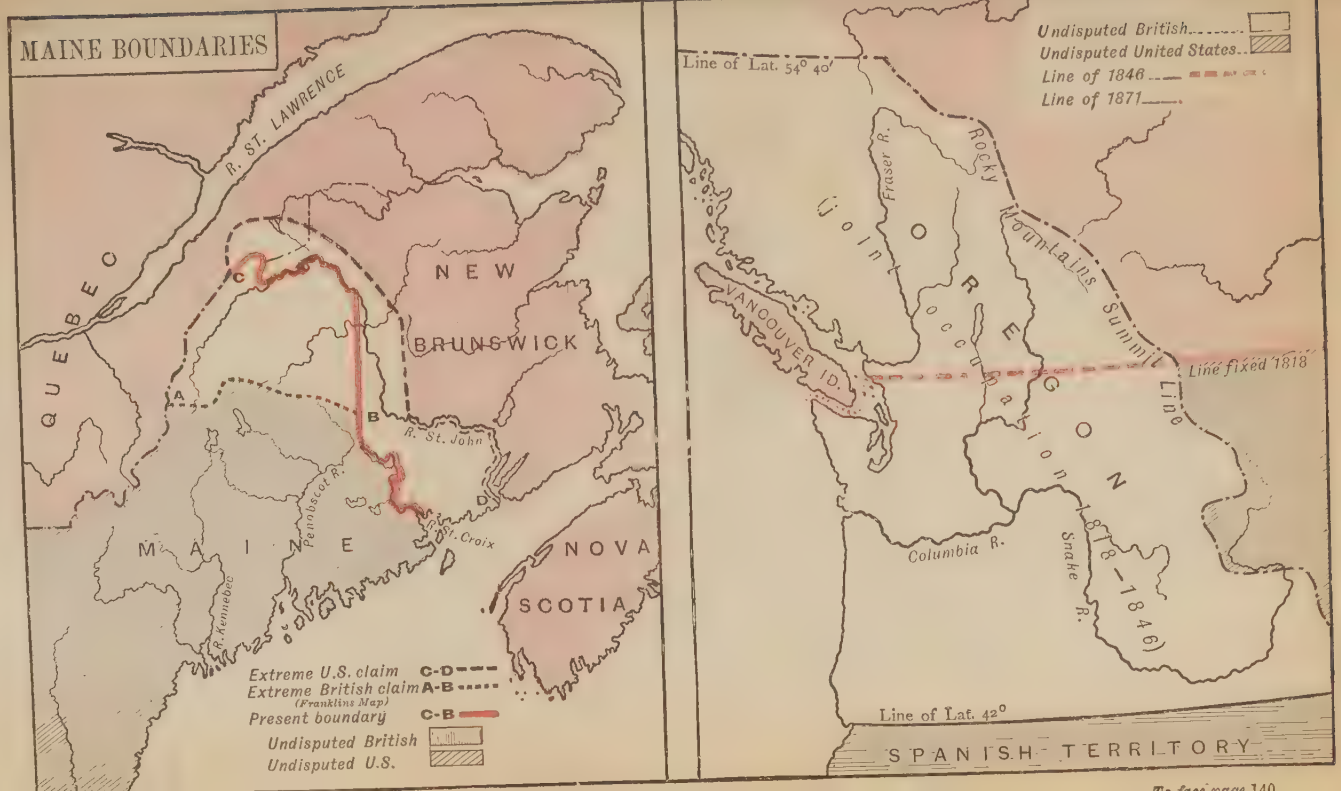
The Ashburton Treaty, 1842.

A few years afterwards a more equitable but no less annoying adjustment of boundaries was made at the other side of the continent. The Ashburton Treaty, confirming an earlier one of 1818,

The Oregon question.

had fixed a common border-line for the States and Canada as far as the Rocky Mountains, and here again displayed the English negotiator's weakness in the curious arrangement known as the "Minnesota kink." Beyond the Rockies Spain claimed territory up to latitude 42°, Russia down to latitude 54° 40′; the intermediate lands, known generally as Oregon, had been explored by Englishmen and Americans indifferently, and were held (under a Convention of 1818) by both nations as joint occupants without prejudice to any claim on either side. This meant for many years merely that the Fur Companies of either nation might hunt and trap unmolested throughout the entire area. But from 1836 onwards American settlers began to enter Oregon, and the British Fur Companies imported colonists to balance them. Whitman, the leader of the first American expedition, saw there was no time to be lost: in five months he rode four thousand miles in the dead of winter over the most inhospitable of wildernesses and the most desolate of storm-swept prairies: he reached Washington almost at the time when Congress was about to abandon Oregon as useless, and secured a delay in the negotiations till he had done his best to people it with American citizens. Then he began a campaign among the hardy pioneers of the upper Mississippi, and succeeded by his enthusiasm in despatching caravan after caravan over the Rocky Mountains, till the land that in 1840 had numbered less than two hundred American inhabitants, in 1846 claimed twelve thousand. In 1844 the United States was plunged into the turmoil of a Presidential election. The Democratic party, whose strength lay among the Southern slave-owners, wanted to bring into the Federation as additional slave-holding territory the Mexican province of Texas. Their policy thus being

Whitman's ride.



To face page 140

one of annexation, they were quite willing to demand Oregon also: and "the whole of Oregon or none" was one of the cries that won them the election. Their President, however, soon found that the Mexican war would give him enough to do, and asked for a compromise in the north-west. Britain offered the line of the Columbia River. "Fifty-four forty or fight," retorted the irrepressible Western Democrats. But the Southerners, eager for Texas, preferred Polk's policy of conciliation: and after a good deal of haggling the line of latitude 49°, which formed part of our boundary east of the Rockies, was prolonged across them to the sea, dipping southward there to leave Vancouver Island wholly British territory.*

President Polk not belliger-ent.

North of the now completely defined boundary there was not as yet much settled territory. Amid a good many changes of fortune during the years when Canada was French, the English contention had always been that Hudson's Bay and the river-valleys near its shores were independent possessions of an English chartered company. Consequently, when the whole of Canada was ceded to Britain, the Hudson's Bay Company kept its own fur-trading district intact, perhaps enlarging its bounds a little; while a new Canadian company was formed by some Scottish traders to work the country further back from headquarters at Fort William on Lake Superior, adopting the old French trade-route from Lake Nipissing through to Lake Winnipeg, and employing French Canadians for the most part in the work out back. The rival companies naturally quarrelled, and the debatable land which both claimed was found in the

The Hudson's Bay Company.

The North-West Company.

* Many years later (in 1871), the last detail of this boundary was determined by an arbitration which gave to the United States the most important islands in San Juan de Fuca Strait.

Nelson River valley, where their lines of operation intersected. To the upper part of this, on the Red River, the Earl of Selkirk in 1811-2 * transferred about a hundred emigrants from his own and neighbouring estates in Scotland. The North-West Company, strong in its Canadian connections,† pillaged and burnt their farms; the Hudson's Bay Company brought them back and helped them to repair the damage. Actual war presently broke out between the Companies, and the Métis (French-Indian half-breeds) of the newer body eagerly raided the forts of the older one and destroyed Selkirk's little colony altogether. Selkirk was compelled to take the law into his own hands, arrest some of the North-West officials at Fort William, and re-establish his settlers on the site of the present city of Winnipeg: the British Parliament took up his cause, and in 1821 compelled the two companies to amalgamate on terms which really swallowed up the newer in the older. Headquarters were now shifted to Selkirk's settlement, where in 1835 Fort Garry was built, Selkirk's interest having been bought up by the Company: and presently the Red River district found itself large enough to receive local government under a president and locally-chosen council, though it still remained part of the Hudson's Bay Territory. As for the Métis, they settled down a little way off on the Assiniboine.

The Selkirk Settlement.

The Red River Settlement.

West of the Rocky Mountains the joint occupancy of Oregon for long prevented any definite scheme of colonization. But when the boundary was once fixed, we made haste to utilise a long-neglected possession. Vancouver Island had been discovered by Captain Cook in 1777, and formally annexed

Vancouver Island.

* He had already made a similar settlement in Prince Edward Island.
† It was backed by the Family Compact.

eleven years later, whereby we nearly came to blows with Spain: but it was still unoccupied when, in 1849, the Hudson's Bay Company obtained an eleven years' lease of it, on condition that within five years a permanent settlement should be made there. A few years later the valley of the Fraser, on the mainland opposite, was found to be full of gold, and the consequent inrush of miners led to the proclamation of a new colony, British Columbia, with which in 1866 the island was incorporated. And so, with both ends of their long boundary-line secured by our command of the sea, the British territories of North America began to see their way clear to a more intimate and strengthening union.

CHAPTER IV

INDIA.

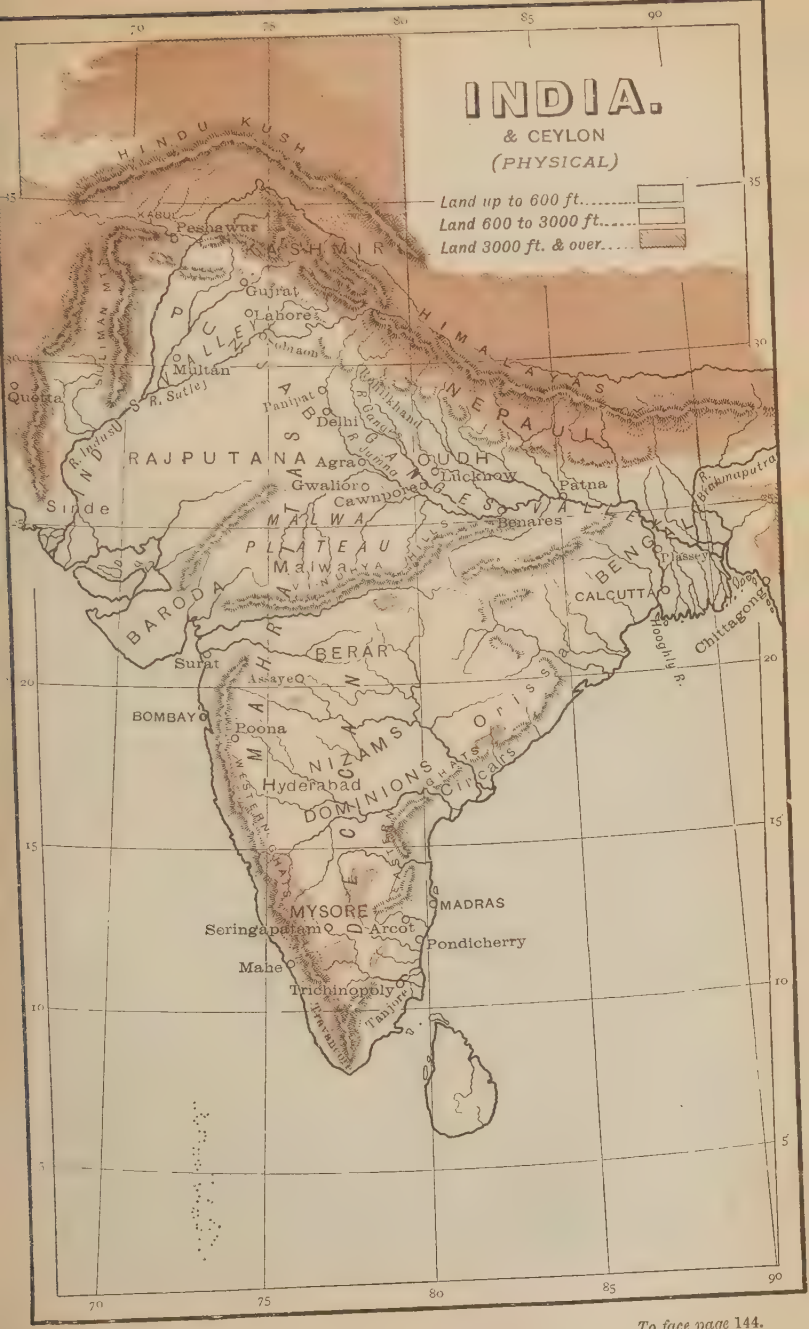
A. The Country in 1740.

For thousands of years India was a mere "geographical expression"—the name of a land area, but never of a simple state. As far as concerned inhabitants it was not even as homogeneous as the land area which we call Europe; for within its boundaries were, and are still, found states very highly civilized and tribes of the most ignorant savages. It is only under British rule that the whole country has been brought under one supreme influence, and the wars which periodically ruined the native farmers have been finally prohibited.

India the name of a country, not of a nation.

The Indian peninsula consists, roughly speaking, of two oblongs and a triangle. The oblong of the Indus valley and the longer and more fertile oblong of the Ganges valley are set at right angles to each other, the one bearing south-west and the other south-east. Their common north-eastern boundary, the range of the Himalayas, is impregnable against invasion. To southward there juts into the Indian Ocean a triangular table-land, the Deccan, which slopes towards the east and is commanded from end to end by the ridge of the Western

Its physical geography.



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Ghats. Both edges, however, eastern and western, are practically impregnable against serious invasion from the sea, especially as there is not a harbour worth speaking of between the Hugli mouth of the Ganges and Bombay. There are thus four routes only by which a conqueror could approach India—by Ganges mouth, by Indus mouth, and round the ends of the Himalayan range; and these may be reduced to two, since the Indus route is blocked by sandy deserts, and beyond the eastern Himalaya route (the Brahmaputra valley) there have never been tribes strong enough to carry out an invasion. The Ganges entrance is, of course, suitable only for attacks from the sea, and so remained unused until the arrival of the British. Wherefore it is by the western Himalaya route—the Afghan passes—that tribe after tribe has come down upon the riches of the Indian plains, until they now contain a confused mass of nearly two hundred different nationalities, speaking more than a hundred different languages.

The history of British domination, as opposed to the mere trading communication which we spoke of in Chapter I., begins with the break-up of the Mogul Empire after 1707. In districts where Mogul conquest had been thorough, this meant the practical independence of the Mogul viceroys: in the Ganges valley, for instance, the Nawabs of Oudh and Bengal established themselves as hereditary rulers of those provinces, and the Nawab of Hyderabad did the same in the central Deccan. All round these orderly Mohammedan governments there sprang up again independent Hindu states, bitter enemies of the empire which had for so long mastered them. On the Upper Indus a religious association

Break-up of the Mogul Empire into semi-independent principalities.

Mohammedan states—Oudh, Bengal, Hyderabad.

of Hindu clans was growing into the powerful Sikh nation. The Rajput chiefs of the lower Indus refused to pay tribute. In the far south of the Deccan the ancient kingdom of Mysore began to flourish again. But the most dangerous of these Hindu states was the Mahratta confederacy. Akin to the Rajputs, but more actively warlike, the Mahratta bands depended on their raids for their living. Their stronghold in the knot of mountains that ends the Western Ghats to northward commanded every fertile province of India. To the strongest Mogul emperors they had given trouble, and they took full advantage of the empire's decline. To save themselves the trouble of repeated raids, they arranged with the rulers of the districts they had ravaged for a yearly payment of blackmail, known as *chout;* and in many of these districts the Mahratta tribute-collectors made themselves absolute lords, and thus extended the limits of the confederacy till it stretched from its centre at Poona north-eastwards half-way across India and southwards along the Ghats to Mysore, while there was even a Mahratta outpost in the principality of Tanjore, on the coast below Madras.

Hindu confederacies—Sikh, Rajput, Mahratta.

B. The Struggle between England and France.

On the edge of all this turmoil, and keeping themselves as much aloof from it as possible, the staffs of three European trading companies occupied some dozen or so of trading settlements, nominally (and on occasion practically) on sufferance of the Mogul viceroys. The companies themselves varied a good deal in prosperity. The Dutch East India Company was prosperous enough, but its Indian trading stations were

The European trading companies.

Dutch,

of very secondary importance compared to those in Ceylon and the Malay Archipelago. The English Company was a very rich corporation of London merchants whose main object was trade, who understood their business thoroughly well, and who had to desire no meddle with the internal politics of the peninsula *; and they had so prospered as to have been able to lend the British Government nearly five millions of money, in consideration of which they were almost entirely free from political control. The French Company, on the other hand, was under close Government supervision. The more its directors complained of this interference, the more did the Ministers appoint new Commissioners to interfere further. It was the time of Louis XV, and the whole state of politics was rotten; the controlling officials of the Company in India could only chafe against the system that was forced on them, till they were driven into wild and adventurous schemes to make them independent of State aid—for this Company made no real profits at all, and had to borrow from the French Government, first and last, nearly seven million pounds.

English.

French.

It was the French officials, therefore, who first conceived the idea of dragging from the ruins of the Mogul Empire power and wealth enough to set their affairs straight. A new governor, Dupleix, was sent out in 1741, and he at once let his subordinates know that mere commercial work was to give way to political victories. Before he left Europe the "Jenkins' ear" war had begun, and he foresaw that

Dupleix enters upon a forward policy, 1741.

* But note that in 1687 the Directors, under the influence of Sir Josiah Child, ordered the Madras Council to "establish such a polity of civil and military power, and create and secure such a large revenue to maintain it, as may be the foundation of a large, well grounded, sure English dominion in India for all time to come." In the same spirit they wrote in 1689 "The increase of our revenue is the subject of our care, as much as our trade: 'tis that must maintain our force when twenty accidents may interrupt our trade: 'tis that must make us a nation in India."

France would soon join in it; his first care, therefore, was to protect the chief settlement, Pondicherry, by fortifications against an attack from the sea, while he hoped by intrigues with the Subadar of the Deccan, Nizam-ul-Mulk, and with his deputy-governor of the Coromandel coast, to make the English position at Madras untenable directly war should break out. The war came in 1744, but directions from the head-quarters of both Companies delayed hostilities in India. In 1745 an English fleet attacked Pondicherry, and was warned off by Anwar-ud-din, Nawab of the Carnatic, who claimed that the settlements were in his territory and not independent; but when the next year a French fleet attacked Madras, Dupleix's policy was justified, and the Nawab who had interfered against the British refused to interfere against the French. The town was accordingly taken, but by the French Admiral Labourdonnais: Dupleix therefore at once demanded its surrender to him, and stirred up the Nawab to put in his claims also. The two combined were too strong for Labourdonnais, who left the coast with his fleet; while Dupleix seized the town and the prisoners, calmly cancelled the terms on which they had surrendered, kept them to figure in a triumphal march to Pondicherry, and when the Nawab repeated his claim turned savagely on him and broke up his army completely. The arrival of another English fleet under Boscawen checked him, and Pondicherry was besieged, but unsuccessfully; and in 1749 there came news of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, by which Madras was restored to the English.*

War between England and France, 1744.

Madras taken, Sept. 25, 1746.

This war, small as its results apparently were, had really altered the whole position of the Companies in India. The English had been submissive to the

* In exchange for Louisbourg: see p. 77.

native rulers; they had fought badly; they had been defeated, and disgraced as prisoners. Dupleix's fighting had been as bold and as successful as his intrigues; he had mastered the English and the Nawab alike; he was in command of a splendid body of seasoned troops. He seemed on the high road to empire. But to control India an European nation must first control the way to India, and France had no fleet left; the Coromandel coast, moreover, was too harbourless and indefensible a base from which to establish great dominion. The wars in the Carnatic helped to settle whether France or Britain should have a free hand in India; but had the British headquarters stayed at Madras, there would have been no Indian Empire of the Queen to-day.

The French Company triumphant:

but its triumph useless for want of sea-power.

However, Dupleix had not reasoned this out, and at the time his plan of subordinating commerce to politics seemed to have been quite successful. Moreover he had an army on his hands which had to be kept up, and so cost money. While he was meditating, the English Company, which had also its army * to be provided for, hit on the idea of hiring it out to a Mahratta prince who had been expelled from the throne of Tanjore; and Dupleix followed this lead instantly with much greater skill. We may formulate his principles in this fashion:—

Dupleix interferes in native politics.

Tanjore war, 1749

(A) When two men fight for a throne, support the one who has least right to it; for he will acknowledge that he owes his throne to you, while the rightful heir will be less grateful for securing what should have been an undisputed succession.

* Its own army entirely: no King's troops reached India till 1754.

(B) European discipline is worth thousands of untrained troops.

(C) Native troops can acquire European discipline; it is the training, not the nationality, which counts.

Civil war in the Deccan.

Now it happened that in 1748 Nizam-ul-Mulk died, and the whole of his dominions were at once in an uproar, during which the Nawab of the Carnatic was also killed. Dupleix promptly gave his support to pretenders to both successions: the English officials were thus forced into supporting the real heirs, sons of the two deceased princes. There was marching and countermarching, plot and counterplot; but within the year Dupleix had brought in both his candidates, and his best officer, Bussy, whom he had sent to Hyderabad with the new Subadar, took immediate action when the prince was assassinated, and set up another Subadar on his own account. Fired by this fresh proof of French power, Dupleix urged the new Nawab of the Carnatic to exterminate his rival and the English who aided him, and sent a combined French and native force against Trichinopoly, where the English candidate still held out. At this moment Lieutenant Clive, who in 1747 had been specially praised for "his martial pursuits" by the Court of Directors, and had done good service in the Tanjore expedition, was sent from Madras to relieve Trichinopoly: but at his own suggestion he was allowed instead to surprise the Nawab's undefended capital of Arcot, and held it for seven weeks with five hundred men against ten thousand. Directly the siege was raised he marched against the nearest French army and defeated it twice with great loss. The

Bussy sets up Salabut Jung at Hyderabad, 1751.

Siege of Trichinopoly, 1751.

Clive takes Arcot, Aug. 31, and holds it against the French.

allies of the English Company took heart again Trichinopoly was relieved, the besieging troops in their turn shut up and forced to surrender, and the Nawab, escaping to Tanjore, was there put to death. The war lingered on for another two years, and was then ended decisively by orders from home. The French directors discovered that they were £80,000 in debt: the French Government was not anxious just at the time for a general war with Britain. So Dupleix was recalled, and his successor concluded a treaty with the authorities at Madras which restrained both companies from any further interference in native politics, and equalised the territories which they might still hold. Of all Dupleix's policy there remained only one result; Bussy was safe at Hyderabad, the chief adviser of the Subadar, and the master of an army all his own, with a rich strip of coast-land (called the Northern Circars) to provide its pay and food.

Arnee. Cavery-pauk.

Dupleix recalled, Aug. 1754. Godeheu makes terms with the E.I.C.

The treaty was no sooner made than evaded. Interference with native powers was forbidden, but the Indian staffs of both Companies interpreted the phrase not to mean help given to a native power at its own request. And Clive, who had gone for a visit to England, made the reasons for this conduct very clear, saying that "so long as there was one Frenchman in arms in the Deccan, or in India, there could be no peace." Bussy, therefore, was the object of Clive's intended attack directly he returned—first by way of Bombay and a Mahratta alliance, then (for the Bombay Council was timid) from his old base at Madras. But events in Bengal, which we shall presently deal with, frustrated this plan also, and set him to achieve greater and more permanent conquests than the Deccan could have provided.

The treaty is disregarded.

By this time a general European war had broken out, and the French Government prepared an important expedition against the English possessions in India; but the preparations were so slow that the Comte de Lally, its commander, did not reach the Indian coast till 1758. A year earlier he would have found Madras at his mercy: every available man having gone to Bengal with Clive. Now, however, an English fleet was in the neighbourhood, and, though he took the town, the fort was held against him till Pocock and his ships arrived. Foolishly enough he therefore summoned Bussy to his aid from Hyderabad. It was a fatal mistake. Affairs in the Deccan were again in confusion, and though Bussy had cleverly retained his position, it was only by his presence at the capital in person. His departure sacrificed everything. The subordinate Rajas, always jealous of him, at once invited Clive to invade the Northern Circars from Bengal; and the Subadar, whom Bussy himself had set up, proved very willing to accept an English alliance, by which he bound himself to employ no Frenchman in the future throughout his dominions.

The Seven Years' War begins, 1756.

Events in the Carnatic.

Bussy recalled to the coast.

Salabut Jung treats with the English, 1759.

As for Lally, his condition grew worse daily, and the English knew it. "What will become of us?" so ran a letter to Bussy's lieutenant which they captured, "our money has gone, our fleet has gone, the army is discontented; we cannot raise money on the credit of France, we are not even respected as Frenchmen." Such ruin had Clive and his policy inflicted on them since the glories of Dupleix's prosperity! After a good deal of manœuvring Lally was attacked outside Fort Wandewash by Colonel Eyre Coote. The battle was a curious one; the native troops on both sides deliberately held

Lally's army in evil plight.

French fleet sails from India, Oct. 1, 1759.

Wandewash, Jan. 22, 1760.

back in order to let the Europeans have a fair fight; and when at last the capture of Bussy made the French retreat, though in good order, the prestige that had once attached to French troops was gone for ever from the native mind. For a year more Lally held out desperately; but on the 14th of January, 1761, Pondicherry was surrendered to Coote, and within a month no spot of Indian soil remained under the French flag.

By the Peace of Paris in 1763 the actual French trading settlements were restored to their owners, but only on condition that no troops should be kept, no forts erected in Bengal, and no relations of any kind entered into with the native rulers. The restoration was therefore politically unimportant; and on the renewal of war between France and England in 1778 there was no difficulty in recapturing these stations. So easy indeed was it, and so little have British administrations since feared that any hostile use could be made of the settlements, that they were again handed back to France in 1815, and are hers to-day.

The Peace of Paris puts an end to French hopes of an Indian Empire.

C. The British gain a Foothold in Bengal.

The exceedingly great fertility of the Lower Ganges Valley had made it from very early times the most valuable prize of Indian conquest. The original Aryan invaders had expelled the tribes whom they found there and occupied the country themselves; but their greed was their ruin. Camped on an exuberant soil, themselves as prolific as their crops, they forgot their warlike skill and the courage that had placed them there. The conquerers who followed — Afghan, Turk, Tartar, Mogul — with better judgment left this degenerate race to till the soil, but

The inhabitants of Bengal.

took care that the profits of it should be secured for their own reward. So the Hindu of Bengal was driven to cheat, as he could not fight, if he would retain the fruits of his labour. Cunning became his courage, and lying his virtue; he thought of forging seals and documents as lightly as some men nowadays think of smuggling a few pounds of tobacco through the Customs. A change of rulers was if anything welcome to him—there was always a chance that he could utilise against the newcomer tricks which his late governors had found out and made of no avail.

As the Mogul Empire fell to pieces, Bengal had passed into the hands of an Afghan soldier, Aliverdy Khan. He was a strong man, and just, as justice went in those disturbed times; and during his Viceroyship (for nominally he was but a lieutenant of the Emperor at Delhi) the three European trading companies lived peaceably side by side. All were treated alike, and each forbidden to take any steps that might seem to threaten the others with war. But in 1756 he died, almost at the same time that news reached India of the imminent Seven Years' War. His adopted son and successor, Siraj-ud-daula, had all his domineering spirit without real strength of mind at his back; he was as vicious as the uncontrolled children of despots usually are, and he was stirred to hatred of the English by a suspicion that they had been intriguing against his succession. His protection, therefore, against outside attacks could not be counted on; and the officials at Calcutta began to fortify themselves, expecting a raid from the French station at Chandernagore. The young Nawab imperiously forbade them to go on, and when they tried to explain matters took it as an insult that they should trust him less than his grandfather. He

Aliverdy Khan makes himself absolute ruler of Bengal, 1740-1756.

He is succeeded by Siraj-ud-daula.

marched against Calcutta, from which most of the officials and all the trading ships then in the river fled at once; those who were left in the fort surrendered only to be packed (not, apparently, by the Nawab's orders) into a small and ill-ventilated prison; and in one night out of a hundred and forty-six prisoners all but twenty-three died miserably.

Capture of Calcutta, June 21, 1756. The "Black Hole."

The horror of this event, even more than the actual loss of territory and trade, roused the Madras Council to take urgent measures against Siraj-ud-daula. Clive had just arrived from Bombay, and was planning a campaign in the Deccan; he was despatched to the Hugli with orders to get things settled as rapidly as possible in Bengal before the anticipated expedition should arrive from France. Six weeks had already been lost in transmission of the news from Calcutta to Madras, two months in discussion, and two more in the transport of Clive's troops to Bengal; but by February of the next year Calcutta had been recovered, the Nawab's army beaten outside it, and a treaty of complete restitution exacted from the defeated prince. Clive had still a couple of months to spare, and employed them in reducing Chandernagore. This roused the Nawab again; he formed a great camp at Plassey, and waited there in the hope of getting help from Bussy in the Deccan before moving to crush the small English force altogether. But Clive, abandoning all idea of returning to Madras as he had promised, now made up his mind by fair means or foul to establish English supremacy in Bengal. Siraj-ud-daula was not to be treated with on such terms—he hated the English too much; the commander of his army, Mir Jafar, was more tractable, and it was

Clive sent with troops from Madras.

Battle of Calcutta, Feb. 5, 1757.

Siege and capture of Chandernagore, March 14 to 23.

arranged that on the Nawab's defeat he should be placed on the throne of Bengal. Immediately Clive marched against the camp at Plassey, where lay a native army of more than fifteen times his numbers,* hammered it with well-served artillery, stormed it directly there were signs of yielding, and dispersed the unwieldy mass of soldiery without even the trouble of pursuit. The next day Mir Jafar was acknowledged as Nawab of Bengal.

Plassey, June 23.

The new ruler had not a happy reign. By the terms of his arrangement with Clive he was compelled to pay the Company and its officers more than two millions of money, partly as compensation for their losses by the seizure of Calcutta, partly as presents to the men who had seated him on his throne. To supply his thus emptied treasury he had recourse to the usual native methods of extortion, and raised revolts against himself on every side. Clive, now President of the Bengal Council, was divided between the necessity of backing his own Nawab and the desire that a man whom English power supported should not discredit his friends by tyrannical acts; and in the middle of this he was interrupted by an invasion of Bengal from the north-west, where the Nawab of Oudh was restless at the success of the English. The mere approach of Clive's army, however, drove the invaders back over the border, and he was able to return without delay to Calcutta, where he found himself in the midst of a new conspiracy in which Mir Jafar had entangled himself with the Dutch. His arrival precipitated matters; the Dutch began hostilities, and without hesitation Clive defeated

Mir Jafar's unhappy reign.

Invasion of Bengal from Oudh, 1759.

* Estimates vary from 45,000 to 70,000. Clive had 1,000 English soldiers and 2,000 Sepoys.

and captured their fleet, and drove their land-forces with great slaughter inside their fort at Chinsurah. These measures were sufficient. The Dutch hastily agreed to keep no troops in future, and to pay all expenses of the short war; and no further attempt was ever made by Europeans to disturb British supremacy in Bengal.

Operations against the Dutch, Nov. 1759.

Meanwhile in Upper India things were happening in which the English took no share, but which proved of immense importance in aiding the consolidation of British rule. Mogul rule even at Delhi had become a mere pretence, controlled at one time by the Afghan chief, Ahmed Shah, at another by the Mahrattas. Either of these powers could have made from the ruins of the Mogul Empire a formidable barricade against the spread of Company rule. But the Mahrattas, who were nothing if not audacious, could not leave their rival alone. In Delhi Ahmed Shah might have left them, but they invaded his favourite province of the Punjab and seized Lahore. All Upper India was drawn into the conflict, which roused to its utmost the perennial hatred of Mohammedan for Hindu. The Afghan Prince swept down from his passes across the Indus, in three fierce battles drove the invaders back upon Delhi, and struck across into the Ganges Valley by the old route that conquerors had used since the days of pre-historic legend. At Panipat on the Jumna he met the whole Mahratta army, a little smaller than his own. No battlefield has seen more thrones lost and won: Babar, the first, and Akbar, the greatest of the Moguls, found their empire there; and they were only the last of a line that runs into the semi-mythical times of the

Afghans and Mahrattas fight for control of the Mogul Emperor.

Mahrattas at Lahore, May 1758.

Ahmed Shah invades India, Sept. 1759.

Trojan war. This, the final battle, was worthy of the place. A hundred and fifty thousand trained soldiers, besides innumerable masses of guerillas, charged each other desperately from morning to night; and when the Mahrattas at last broke and fled, the slaughter among them was so great that for all practical purposes their army had disappeared. Even the victorious troops were too demoralised to be trustworthy any longer for conquest; the last victor of Panipat was compelled to stay his progress just where the triumphant career of his predecessors had begun. Ahmed Shah retired to Afghanistan to reconstruct his army, and when after many years a fresh invasion from that quarter was thought of, the Sikh Confederacy had made itself an impenetrable barrier across the road now closed for ever.

Panipat, Jan. 7, 1761.

D. First Attempts at Ruling.

So it happened that for the next few years no power existed in India formidable enough to seriously disturb the Company in its new dominions. This was a stroke of great good luck, for after Clive's departure from Bengal in 1760 the administration of that province became disordered and disgraceful. The Calcutta Council took up the position that it represented a trading company which had nothing to do with governing, and required simply revenue and the fulfilment of contracts. This threw upon the Nawab, who was of course dependent on the Council's support, the responsibility of keeping order and collecting taxes in Bengal; while he was equally forced to run constant risk of creating disorder, since the subsidies demanded

Maladministration of Company's officials in Bengal.

by the Council were more than any legitimate taxation could meet, and the trade privileges which had to be granted to the Company irritated all the native merchants. Every member but one of the Council, moreover, was eager to use his position in his own private interests. They remembered the great division of spoil that followed Mir Jafar's enthronement, and they determined to repeat the process in the hope of sharing no less riches.* Mir Jafar was deposed, and his son-in-law Mir Kasim made Nawab in his place; the revenues of three districts were handed over to the Company; and the Councillors got nearly a quarter of a million between them. But these further extortions naturally aggravated the evil; Mir Kasim failed more miserably than his predecessor; in desperation he broke with the English altogether, revoked their trading privileges, and killed one of their officers. The Council declared him deposed, and dragged poor old Mir Jafar out again, taking care that he confirmed all the grants previously obtained from Mir Kasim. The rebel Prince was thrice defeated, and, after massacring at Patna all the English he could lay hands on, fled to Oudh. There he joined Shuja-ud-daula, who was at once Nawab of Oudh and Vizier of the sham Emperor at Delhi, and who had already since Clive's departure made one unsuccessful attack on Bengal. The united armies advanced against Patna, but were met and utterly routed at Baxar by Major Munro. This battle put India for the moment absolutely at the Company's mercy. In the whole Ganges Valley there

Mir Jafar deposed, 1760;

and restored, 1763.

Siege of Patna, May 1764.

Baxar, Oct. 22.

* It is only fair to say that the Directors of the Company at home knew nothing of all this till it was done, and when they did know did their best to restrain and repress the arbitrary proceedings of the Council.

was no centre of resistance left, and the Mahrattas, not yet recovered from the blow of Panipat, were fully occupied with attempts to restore their influence in the Deccan and Mysore. The Vizier made one more attempt to rally Hindus and Mohammedans alike against the Company's forces; but the battle of Kora crushed even this forlorn hope.

Kora, May 3, 1765.

On the day that battle was fought, Clive, now Lord Clive, landed in Calcutta. The maladministration of the last few years had become notorious in England, and the private avarice of the Calcutta Council had almost annihilated the Company's profits. In the first four months of 1765 nearly £700,000 was paid to individuals in the Company's service from the treasury of the provinces, partly by Mir Jafar on account of his restoration, partly after his death to obtain the succession for one of his sons. It was to put an end to scandals like these that Clive came out, with a practical dictatorship in civil and military matters, and found the fate of all Northern India in his hands. If he wished it, Delhi was his; but he had no desire to thrust greater dominion on a Company which so ill managed what it had. Also he knew the Mahrattas, and did not care to lay the boundaries of British territory open to their future attacks. The Emperor, therefore, was given the revenues of two rich districts along the Middle Ganges to support his state. Shuja-ud-daula was reinstated in Oudh; for that province, left semi-independent, would be a useful buffer between Bengal and the Mahrattas. But as a check on the Vizier Clive established on its southern border a small Hindu domain to be administered by the Raja of Benares. As for Bengal, two things were clear. The Company *must* undertake the responsibility

Clive returns to Bengal to bring about reforms.

Treaty of Allahabad, August 16, 1765.

of government—yet the merchants who formed it would be most unwilling to exchange their commercial for Imperial duties. Clive solved the difficulty by accepting for the Company the *diwani* or treasurership of the Bengal provinces. The Mogul *diwans* had been officers in the various provinces charged with the collection of revenue and its remittance to the imperial treasury; such an office was not inappropriate to the mercantile character of the Company; and its execution, in an Indian state, really included most of the acts which a government must undertake to keep order and to administer justice among its subjects. This arrangement, therefore, pleased both the emperor and the new puppet Nawab of Bengal, who saw sure incomes before them and no trouble; it satisfied the Company, which obtained a revenue of more than a million and a half when all expenses in India had been paid; and it offered the native population the firm control of a single master, intent on peace and prospering in their prosperity.

Grant of the Diwani, Aug. 12, 1765.

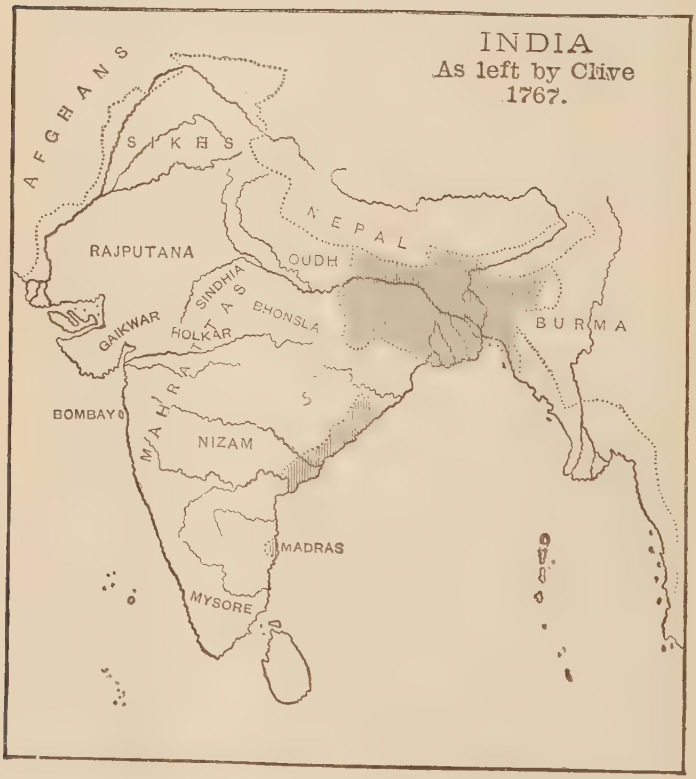
These matters settled, Clive turned to reforms in the Company's official staff. He relieved a real grievance, and one which had been partly the cause of past disgraces, by dividing the proceeds of the salt tax proportionately among the civil servants, who had been so badly paid before this that they could only make a living by cheating the Company. In view of that concession private trading was severely restricted, and every official was bound by covenant not to take gifts from any native prince. With equal sternness the perquisites of the army were cut off and the pay system simplified; and when the officers resigned and the European soldiers mutinied, Clive surrounded them with Sepoy battalions and crushed the mutiny out. In short, in less than

Clive's reforms in administration.

Mutiny at Monghir, Mar. 13, 1766.

two years he had consolidated British power in India, established a strong and just government, and turned Bengal from an adventurer's hunting-ground into an orderly province; and when he left nothing was needed to complete his work but a second Clive to insist on the fulfilment of his plans.

Clive leaves India, Jan 29, 1767, and is succeeded by Verelst.



A second Clive, unfortunately, was not yet forth-

coming; and matters in Bengal soon fell back into something like their old state. Discipline was relaxed, private trading began again, and the Company, shrinking still from the responsibilities of administration, interpreted the *diwani* to mean simply reception of the revenue after it had been collected by native officials. Expenses had sprung up on every side to consume even the gigantic sums which Bengal could contribute. The British Government managed in various ways to secure nearly two million pounds a year of revenue from the Company's coffers. Worst of all, the three Councils that sat at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay were quarrelling among themselves, and the two poorer entered on political intrigues, for which the rich one had eventually to pay. Madras was jealous of Calcutta, as of an upstart that had usurped the older town's position; Bombay was actively envious—why should not Western India also have its Plassey and its Baxar? The question is easily answered; the natives of the Bombay side were men of the hills, not rice-eaters of Bengal. But it had to be answered at the expense of Calcutta.

The reforms not properly carried out.

The Madras Council found themselves, after expelling the French, in close relations with three fickle and dangerous Powers. The Mahrattas were gradually getting back their strength, and were training themselves by repeated raids over the Deccan for a renewed attack on Delhi and Oudh. Hyder Ali, whose fighting ability had won him the rule of Mysore, was intent on building up a kingdom that should be supreme in the peninsula. Nizam Ali (usually called "the Nizam"), the Viceroy of Hyderabad, was the weakest power of the three, but had ambitions which clashed with Hyder's, and a valuable territory which no Mahratta

The Madras Council entangles itself in Deccan politics.

Nizam Ali dethrones his brother Salabut Jung, 1762.

could see without plundering. With such neighbours it was possible to pursue three courses: to guard one's own frontier well, and leave them entirely alone; to fix on a definite line of interference, and work steadfastly along that line till the peace of the Deccan was assured; or to interfere first with one, then with another, now blusteringly, now timidly, till all three became so irritated that they would join hands readily against their common tormentor. The Madras Council chose the third course, and carried it out with great success. They fought the Nizam alone; they fought the Nizam and Hyder; they engaged by treaty to fight Hyder on behalf of the Nizam, and allied themselves with some of the Mahrattas in order to do so; then they made another treaty with Hyder and the Mahrattas, promising to help either party if attacked. These two native powers at once began to fight each other, and each demanded the Company's help against the other; so that by 1769 the Madras Council had broken all its treaties and had incurred the reproach of treachery to every state in Southern India. Meanwhile the Mahrattas had regained their fighting strength, and marched large forces against Delhi: the Mogul emperor joined them, glad to get back to his capital on any terms; and Clive's arrangements of 1765 were seriously imperilled in two quarters, since the invaders at the same time raided Rohilkhand, an independent state on the north-western border of Oudh, and attempted to annex the districts on its southern border which Clive had granted to Shah Alam.

1766.
1767.
Treaty, Feb. 1768.
Treaty with Hyder, April 1769.
Mahrattas in Rohilkhand, 1770 and 1772.

E. The Presidency of Warren Hastings.

It was just at this time that the directors of the Company began to see how mistaken had been their policy of non-interference in the collection of the Bengal revenue. They determined at last to be as bold as Clive had thought them, and to take into their own hands the duties of the *diwani*. To inaugurate this new policy they appointed to the Presidency of the Bengal Council a man after Clive's own heart, the only member of that degraded Council of 1761-5 who had refused to work for his own private gain. In the spring of 1772 Warren Hastings arrived at Calcutta, charged with the creation of a new financial system and the punishment of those who had ruined the old one. He was at once confronted with the problem of securing Oudh against Mahratta attacks. The maintenance of Oudh as a buffer state was a cardinal point of Clive's policy, which Clive's disciple was not likely to neglect. Shuja-ud-daula willingly fell in with this policy, and agreed to pay the Company half a million pounds if the two imperial districts were returned to him: he offered nearly another half million if the Company's troops would help him to annex Rohilkhand. The Rohillas he represented as a turbulent Afghan warrior-clan dominating a cruelly-oppressed farming population, and their chiefs as men who had deliberately broken a treaty with him and were ready at any moment to invite the Mahrattas across the Ganges: there was some truth in the picture, but Shuja himself was in reality ten times more cruel and treacherous, besides being a coward. Hastings hesitated for some months, and at last despatched the troops required: Rohilkhand became a part of Oudh.

Hastings sent out as Governor of Bengal, April 13, 1772.

The Rohilla war, Feb. to April 1774.

and the Ganges was made our bulwark against Mahratta invasion from Benares to the Himalayas.

Meanwhile the administration of Bengal was being remodelled, and Englishmen were installed as collectors of revenue. The chief native official under the old system was Mohammed Reza Khan; Hastings, by order from the directors at home, removed him from office and put him under restraint, while strict enquiry was made into his treasurership. Bengal-fashion, every facility was given to his accusers, and to them only, to prove their case: and when, after nearly two years, Hastings pronounced his honourable acquittal, he made himself an inveterate enemy in the chief accuser, Nundkhomar, the high-caste Hindu. But the transference of real government from natives to Englishmen had produced its effect, and justified all Clive's anticipations: Bengal was again flourishing, the times of oppression were over, and Hastings began to hope for a quiet and prosperous term of years in his Presidency.

The finances of Bengal set straight.

Then Parliament stepped in, and with the best intentions in the world tangled up Indian affairs very badly indeed. In the minds of the British public the scandals of 1761-5 were confused with the carelessness that followed Clive's last return from India. The philanthropic politician was beginning to assert himself—the class that abolished the slave trade and nearly ruined South Africa, so noble in its impulses, so dangerously meddlesome in its want of knowledge. The ministry of Lord North, deprived by the Company's losses of a great source of revenue, saw its chance of at once pleasing the philanthropists and soothing the House of Commons, whose dignity was just then ruffled by the brusque behaviour of the American colonies. In such a temper was passed the

Indian affairs discussed in Parliament.

famous Regulating Act, a monument of good intentions stupidly carried out. It proclaimed, with a side glance towards America, "the eminent dominion of Parliament over every British subject." It made Bengal the chief seat of the Company's authority, and made the Governor of Bengal Governor-General over all the British settlements—a necessary measure, but so executed as to excite in a most bitter form the jealousy of Madras and the envy of Bombay. It gave the Governor-General a Council of four members, of which under ordinary circumstances he was a member with no more power than any of the others; if on any question there was a majority of votes against him, he was bound to carry out measures which he might think absolutely ruinous to the Company's interests. He was, indeed, given a casting vote in addition to his own, if the Council should be equally divided—an unlikely event in a body of five. The Act went on to import into India all the complex system of British law. This meant a very great improvement in the administration of justice, for the laxity and corruptibility of the native courts were notorious; but the effect of this reform was spoilt by the introduction of a complicated procedure which confused the native suitor, and a new valuation of crimes which ran contrary to all the native ideas of right and wrong. When one adds that all cases then being tried under the old standards were to be transferred to the new jurisdiction, the wrong-headedness of this pouring new wine into old bottles becomes evident.

Lord North's Regulating Act, 1773.

Such were the mischievous kindnesses of the Regulating Act; but the Ministry improved even upon this. They quite omitted to mention whether the Governor-General and his Council could make laws which the Supreme Court must uphold—or whether the Supreme

Court could veto as unconstitutional edicts which the Council must thereupon revoke. And, having by the Act made it of the highest importance that the Council should work harmoniously together, they appointed to it a majority of amateur reformers, one of whom was Philip Francis, the most dangerous of friends and the most vindictive of enemies then engaged in English politics. One cannot wonder that within a year the Council was divided by bitter quarrels, and only united against the pretensions of the judges; while the Supreme Court had become a terror to every litigant in Bengal, and had quite confirmed in the natives that "peculiar turn of mind, by which they expect everything from power and very little from justice."

Francis chief member of the new Council.

The new members of Council very soon showed their hand. They were sworn in on the 24th October, 1774. Within a week they had condemned, and annulled as far as possible, all Hastings' arrangements with Shuja-ud-daula. A month later they despatched to England an arraignment of Hastings' general policy, and were using every power they had to prove that the Rohilla war had been disgraced by unspeakable barbarities.* Failing in that, they cheerfully began the next year with preferring and investigating charges of peculation, corruption, and others of like nature against the man who had reintroduced honesty into Indian finance: and by May they were interfering with the Supreme Court over the custody of prisoners committed for trial. Their chief

Proceedings of the new Council.

* There were, of course, what we should call barbarities, but not unspeakable; and none which, in Hindu eyes, went beyond legitimate warfare. Of course Hastings' mistake was that he did not insist on putting the British general in supreme command: wherefore British troops looked on while Oudh troops made war according to their nature.

witness in the charges against Hastings was Nundkhomar, the malevolent Hindu, the most skilful of the many expert forgers in Bengal. For some years a charge of forgery had been hanging over his head in one of the petty native courts. The Regulating Act transferred this to the Supreme Court, and brought it under the British law which punished forgery with death. The case was tried before the three judges and a jury: the Chief Justice himself summed up almost in the strain of a counsel for the prisoner, pointing out the hardship of this sudden change from native to British jurisdiction. But the jury—they could, in fact, do nothing else in face of the evidence—found Nundkhomar guilty. If at this stage the culprit had been let off lightly, every Bengali would have assumed that he had bribed the judges. It was the first judicial conflict between Eastern and Western ideas: and when the richest forger and the most treacherous Brahmin in Bengal was hanged in the centre of Calcutta, all India understood that the new rulers might be harsh, but were certainly incorruptible.

The story of Nundkhomar.

Nundkhomar hanged, Aug. 5, 1775.

Hastings was thus, by good luck and the Regulating Act, relieved of a dangerous enemy: though Francis and his party had calculated rightly, when they allowed the execution to proceed, that the relief would be ascribed in England rather to good management than to good luck. For a year more the Governor-General was hampered by the hostile majority in Council: but when Monson, one of the imported three, fell ill and died, parties were suddenly equalized, the casting vote came into operation, and Hastings found himself once more in power. By a curious mischance it happened that at the same moment his friends in England were handing in his resignation,

Hastings obtains control of the Council, 1776.

which he had some time before placed in their hands to be used on certain conditions. But the directors, influenced by Lord North's partisanship for his own nominees, cared little about conditions. They hastily accepted the resignation, declared Clavering (the third of the amateurs) Governor-General in Hastings' place, and appointed a new Councillor to fill the vacancy. When the tidings reached India, Clavering with indecent haste asserted his new authority: but Hastings was now in no mood to go. He submitted the whole matter to the Supreme Court—a step which he afterwards regretted—and it was decided in his favour. Francis had tact enough to accept the decision gracefully; Clavering died of the disappointment; and for eight more years, the most critical years of British rule in India, Hastings was able to exercise his own profound judgment in preserving the empire, hampered indeed by the folly of subordinate Presidencies, but no longer bound hand and foot by vicious obstinacy in the men who shared with him the supreme control.

F. Mahratta and Mysore Wars.

We must turn back a little to discover what had happened in the Deccan that made those eight years so critical. To begin with, the Bombay Council had in 1774 found its long-looked-for opportunity of emulating and (it hoped) surpassing Dupleix. The Peshwa of the Mahrattas was dead, his natural successor was only just born, and a pretender named Raghuba had sprung up from an elder branch of the family. The officials at Bombay at once backed the pretender, but make a mistake in demanding — and seizing — their reward beforehand. Salsette, an island close to Bombay, and Bassein, a town on the mainland opposite,

Foolish interference of Bombay Council in Mahratta affairs.

Death of Narayan Rao Peshwa, Aug. 30, 1773.

had long been desired by the Bombay Council; but the Mahrattas had driven the Portuguese from them not many years before, and it was a point of honour with them not to give up their conquest. When, therefore, Raghuba ceded these places, and when an English army took Salsette by force, the pretender's cause was seriously compromised. The Bengal Council condemned the war at once, and sent over an agent who concluded a treaty with the Mahratta ministry in which Raghuba was thrown over altogether; but while negotiations were still going on Monson's illness had put Hastings in power, and he saw that when action had once been taken—as it had been in the capture of Salsette—that action must be supported to the point of victory if the Mahrattas were to be kept in check at all. He therefore disallowed the agent's treaty and sent orders to press on the war; but the Bombay Council, with the courage of a street boy who throws stones and runs away, marched their army within twenty miles of the Mahratta capital, Poona, and then abandoned their heavy artillery and retreated.* Raghuba gave himself up in despair to his enemies; the Bombay army was surrounded and laid down its arms. Fortunately Hastings had already despatched troops overland under the command of Colonel Goddard; and for three years this officer maintained his position in the Mahratta country, gaining no great advantages, but occupying the attention of armies many times the size of his own, which otherwise could and would have harried Bengal and ruined Madras in the distracted times that were to follow. If Sir Eyre Coote was, as we shall see, Hastings' right-hand man in the coming turmoil,

Salsette taken, Dec. 28, 1774.

Treaty of Purandhar, Mar. 1, 1776.

Hastings disallows the treaty.

Surrender of Wargaum, Jan. 1779.

* It was not the army's fault: it fought, surrounded, for two days, and its resistance impressed Sindhia with the necessity of getting European training for his troops.

Goddard may claim a place not much inferior. He took Bassein; he suggested, and one of his captains most daringly carried out, the escalade of Gwalior, the strongest of Mahratta fortresses; and to his tact and courage is mainly due the treaty which in 1782 gave both parties an honourable peace, and allowed Hastings to turn his whole strength against even more dangerous enemies in the Carnatic.

Bassein taken, Dec. 11, 1780.

Popham takes Gwalior, Aug. 4, 1780.

Treaty of Salbai, May 17, 1782.

For the Council at Madras had been adding to their long list of ineptitudes. At Bombay, Dupleix had been the model: at Madras they set to work to imitate Hastings' most doubtful piece of policy, the Rohilla war. At the request of the Nawab of the Carnatic they invaded Tanjore and annexed it to his dominions. The directors interfered, and restitution was made: but from that time the English lost the confidence of their last allies in Southern India. In this predicament news was received that France had declared war: and the French fleet in Indian waters was known to be stronger than any the Company could bring against it. Hastings saw there was just one chance of safety. Every town on the coast under French rule was seized at once, as were the Dutch settlements when Holland a little later joined in the war. So the French fleets which year after year swept along the Coromandel coast, striving to take India from us (as they were taking America) by cutting off communications with the home islands, found no port where they could refit, no means of supplying our enemies with a steady flow of supplies and money: they were reduced to spasmodic landings of troops who were at once left to their own resources, while the ships either sailed

Troubles in the Madras Presidency.

Invasion of Tanjore, Aug. 1773.

It is restored to the Raja in April, 1776.

War with France (war of American Independence), 1778.

Pondicherry taken, Oct. 1778;

Mahé taken, Mar. 1779.

back to their nearest station at Bourbon, two thousand miles away, or engaged in stubborn conflicts with a smaller English fleet that entirely declined to own itself beaten.

Sea fights between Hughes and Suffren, Feb.-Sept. 1782.

Indeed, it was not in French armies or French fleets that the real danger lay, but in French intrigue with the finest soldier in India. Of the French settlements taken by Hastings one, Mahé, lay on the western coast of Mysore. Hyder Ali was not the man to claim less authority than had Siraj-ud-daula over Calcutta or Anwar-ud-din over Pondicherry. But he was not yet ready to attack Hastings: the Madras Council, however, he conceived to be at his mercy, and he had an old grudge against them. He matured his plans with great skill: from the Mogul emperor he procured a grant of all the Nizam's dominions; from the Mahrattas, whom the French were guiding, he obtained almost equally favourable terms: he proclaimed a holy war against the infidels in every mosque and every Hindu temple of Mysore. Then he burst upon the Carnatic through the passes of the Eastern Ghats, and drove straight at Madras, cutting in two the small English army. The two parts attempted to unite, but Hyder knew the men he was fighting: he neglected the larger, whose general was incapable, threw his whole force upon the smaller, and marched off in triumph with a few prisoners who survived his attack. But Hastings was undaunted: he scraped together every man and every rupee that could be spared from Bengal and confronted Hyder with Clive's old comrade, Sir Eyre Coote, who had replaced Clavering on the Bengal Council. The progress of the victor was at once checked. He was driven from the siege of several forts which were on the point of surrendering: twice Coote defeated him with great loss:

Hyder Ali joins in the war.

His rush upon Madras, July 1780.

Battle of Pullalur, Sept. 10.

and next year the Mahratta peace let loose against his western frontier the forces of Bombay. French help came, but it did him little good: and at the end of the year he died in harness, with the sure presentiment that his son Tipu would lose everything that he had gained. He had not, however, calculated enough upon the Madras Council, who, Coote being also dead, reassumed control of the war. They abandoned to Tipu's vengeance the troops that Bombay had sent to their help: when his auxiliaries retired at the peace of Versailles, and British troops were advancing from north and south at once into the heart of Mysore, they sent him commissioners to beg for peace: they allowed the commissioners to be insulted and threatened without protest, and implored the Mahrattas and the Nizam to join in their supplications for a treaty. When the treaty was at last contemptuously thrown to them, they did not even trouble to arrange for the release of the troops they had deserted.

Porto Novo, July 1, 1781; Sholinghar, Sept. 27. Death of Hyder Ali, Dec. 7, 1782.

Capitulation of Bednur and Mangalore, 1783.

Treaty of Mangalore, Mar. 11, 1784.

It is wonderful, seeing how rashness in Bombay and cowardice in Madras continually upset all his plans, that Hastings should have been able to fight at once the French and the two most powerful states of India, and to leave behind him after the contest an empire undiminished in extent and strengthened in authority. But the whole story of his genius is not yet told. Through the years of struggle, though supreme in his own Council, he was harassed by disputes with the Supreme Courts in Bengal and never-ending reprimands from home. The judges, thinking they could easily manage the [illegible] spasmodic their decision had settled in the Governor-[illegible] their own to draw even the details of revenue-

Hastings' administrative work in Bengal.

collecting within the grasp of their highly technical procedure. Hastings fought them till he succeeded in establishing a separate revenue court under the Company's control, and soothed them by making the Chief Justice its first president. But this, in common with every other act of his, was made an accusation against him by powerful enemies in London: and in some of their attacks, unfortunately, they had a more plausible show of right. All this fighting was not to be done without money: and the revenues of Bengal, large as they were, and in spite of Hastings' able administration, could not support at once a Mysore war, a Mahratta war, and the demands from England for a large dividend. Hastings, therefore, following the customs of the Mogul princes, demanded from the Raja Chait Singh of Benares an extra contribution for war purposes. This demand was no more unjustifiable to the Hindu mind than an extra penny on the income tax for war purposes would be to us: for by a treaty concluded in 1775 Chait Singh was not an independent ally of the Company, but merely a deputy-governor of one of its estates who farmed the taxes under a loosely-worded contract. Nor did he object to the demand as a matter of right, but evaded it on the plea of poverty—a plea amply disproved after his flight. In England, however, it was easy to magnify a bailiff into a native prince, and Chait Singh was installed beside Nundkhomar as a representative victim of monstrous tyranny.

Fight with the Supreme Court.

The case of Chait Singh.

There was still another channel through which Hastings might receive the money so urgently required of him. The Nawab of Oudh was a million pounds in arrears. When pressed for it he replied that his revenues could not stand the strain: the Bengal Council had chosen to hand over

The case of the Begums of Oudh.

his best paying provinces and his father's treasure-hoard to his father's mother and widow, and until they were returned to him nothing could be done. This had been one of the achievements of the Francis party during its ascendency: they had interfered with the operation of native law, and had guaranteed the Begums in the illegal possession of that property for a payment of £250,000. Hastings was quite willing to undo an act done against his will and without a shadow of justice: but in a fit of irritation—he believed the Begums to have been mixed up with Chait Singh in a riot which nearly cost him his life—he allowed the Nawab too free a hand in reclaiming the misappropriated property. The land was resumed easily, but the treasure was not to be found; and the Begums' secretaries, who had originally managed the whole affair, were imprisoned and put to the torture. It was actually the Nawab's doing, but Hastings ought to have anticipated and stopped it: he had experience enough of natives to know that they would stop at nothing in their search for treasure—and it was largely to satisfy his directors' demands that the treasure was on this occasion sought. As it was, his name became associated for the first time in India with acts of gross cruelty to people of a native race.

Hastings is attacked in Parliament.

Meanwhile the directors had fallen more and more under the control of Government—which meant the control of Francis and his friends, aided by the great but misguided eloquence of Edmund Burke. The North Ministry had censured the Governor-General whenever they could: the Rockingham Ministry attacked him with a hundred and eleven resolutions, and demanded his recall. The directors were willing enough; but the great body of shareholders gallantly stood by him, and accused the

directors themselves of causing all the disturbances for which they were condemning Hastings. He could, however, be damaged a good deal without recalling him: the directors annulled his appointments wherever they could, supported the subordinate Councils—even that of Madras—against him, and contradicted every statement he made without troubling to enquire into the facts. He stuck to his post manfully until every danger had been overcome; then he sent in his resignation, accompanied with a bitter prayer that his successor might be "a person invested with the powers of the office—not disgraced, as I have been, with an unsubstantial title, left without authority, and given responsibility without the means of discharging it." He saw that his retirement had become as necessary as his presence had been for the last ten years. Every defence of him by the shareholders was a direct offence to the Ministry, and so an injury to the prospects of the Company, whose affairs were being hotly debated in Parliament. On February 1, 1785, he gave up his office to the next member of Council, and returned to England for his reward. It was long in coming. Francis, implacable as ever, hounded on against him the furious tirades of Burke and the theatrical rhetoric of Sheridan; Pitt, for unknown reasons, abandoned him to his accusers. It seemed at one time as if the name of Warren Hastings would be no less a reproach to the ingratitude of Britain than the names of Labourdonnais and Dupleix are to France. But always the shareholders of the Company, the men who knew him, stood his friends; and every year brought back from the Empire he had saved men of all ranks and professions who knew, and who were not slow in proclaiming, how great his services had been. And

He resigns, Mar. 20, 1783,

and returns to England.

He is impeached and tried (trial begins Feb. 13, 1788),

from the day of his acquittal to the day of his death he enjoyed in peace the fame and honours which were no more than due to "the ablest Englishman"—to quote Sir James Stephen—"of the eighteenth century."

and acquitted, 1795

CHAPTER V

BRITISH INDIA

A. Cornwallis and Reform in Bengal.

It had been the work of Warren Hastings to establish two principles of very great importance to our Indian Empire. He showed to the peoples of India that British power was unshakable: neither the armies of Mysore, nor the Mahratta raids, nor French intrigue, nor the quarrels in the ruling council, had been able to lessen the British Company's hold on its Indian territories. In Bengal especially the people had settled down contentedly under their new masters, and those groans of oppressed millions, to which Burke and Sheridan gave so much publicity, were mere stage properties invented for their use by Philip Francis. But Hastings had also convinced the English Parliament that their first efforts at Indian legislation were a lamentable failure. Dividend-making must cease to occupy the Governor-General's attention: nor must divided counsels thwart his carefully-considered policy. He must be supreme in his own Council, supreme in all three Presidencies, and responsible only to the Government of Great Britain. At last, in fact, there begins the application to our colonial policy of the one all-important maxim of Imperial Government, "Get your good man, and once got trust him to the full"—a maxim that has never been obeyed without honour, never

The lessons of Hastings' governorship.

abandoned without failure and disgrace. Pitt's East India Acts (whose passing is a matter rather of English politics than of colonial history) were founded on the experience of Hastings: they gave the Governor-General absolute power throughout British India in all matters of high policy, with a Council of three to advise him, but left him free to reject even their unanimous advice in an emergency, and responsible for his acts only to the Minister in whose department Indian affairs lay. The whole of the Company's affairs, moreover, were placed under the control of a board of six Commissioners appointed by the Crown. So it came about that in later years a strong Governor-General, backed by a powerful Minister, was able more than once to disregard the merely commercial aspect of his authority, to rule India in the interests of its peoples, and to enforce with a firm hand the Pax Britannica among a restless and discordant population of two hundred and more millions.

Pitt's India Acts, 1784-6.

Lord Cornwallis, the first Governor under this new system, arrived in India in 1786. He had the full confidence of Pitt and Dundas, the chiefs of the Government at home. One thing only he was forbidden to do: the preamble of Pitt's Act had insisted, and the Charter-renewing Act of 1793 did but declare more formally, that "schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India are measures repugnant alike to the wish, the honour, and the policy" of the British nation. But Cornwallis had no great liking for war, especially for wars of adventure, after his experiences in America: he preferred to take up those pressing questions of internal reform which Clive had propounded and Hastings in the midst of his worries had left half-unanswered. The directors of the Company, never disentangling themselves from their mercantile habits, still paid their officials a small salary and a large

Cornwallis, Governor-General, 1786 to 1793.

commission on transactions passing through their hands: Cornwallis almost abolished the commission, gave them good and fixed salaries, and altogether forbade them to trade. These same officials, called collectors because their chief duty was to collect the land revenues of each district, had gradually made themselves judges in all civil and revenue cases in which natives were concerned, and were supposed to superintend the proceedings in the native criminal courts. Cornwallis set up new civil and criminal courts, and confined the collectors to revenue work—for this, indeed, comprising as it did the regulation of taxes, the wardship of minors and lunatics among landholders, the payment of pensions, and the superintendence of the Company's own estates, in a district of more than half a million of people, was quite enough to occupy one man's attention.

He forbids the Company's officials to trade,

and establishes proper courts of justice.

But the most important of Cornwallis' measures was the Perpetual Land Settlement of Bengal. It is a difficult thing to summarize the infinite variety of Indian land-customs: but we shall not be far wrong in saying that the underlying principle was one and the same through all the states—the land was, in the last resort, the property* of the ruler, who raised revenue from its occupants by a tax in the nature of rent. The farmer did not understand freehold: he felt it right and respectable to pay rent to some one. But his desire was that his rent should not be capriciously raised, and that he himself should be secure from unwarranted eviction. Hence over a great part of India the actual occupants of the soil, or at least the set of villagers occupying a particular area

The Perpetual Settlement, Mar. 22, 1793.

Hindu land-laws.

* Sir Syed Ahmed, however, says "It is open to grave doubt whether the land is pledged for payment of revenue. The claim of the Government lies, I take it, upon the produce of the land, not upon the land itself."

Akbar made it a rule to take one-third of the produce: he also classified the lands, and took payment in cash or kind at the option of the farmer.

round their village, came to look upon themselves as immovable tenants so long as they paid some sort of rent. Their possession was too often terminated by an incursion of Mahrattas: but subject to such accidents they held their own for many generations. The ruling power, Rajput or Mogul, dealt with them through revenue-collectors, known as *zamindars*, *talukdars*, etc., who were responsible each for the revenues of his own district, but had no legal rights over the land.

Bengal an exceptional case.

Now in Bengal, the richest province, inhabited by a less warlike race of farmers than any other and one more often conquered, this hereditary tenure for many generations was almost non-existent. And as the ryot's hold on the land had decreased, the zamindar's had stiffened. His office too had become hereditary, and he had taken advantage of the general confusion to evict, to raise rents, to exact extra contributions on the slightest pretext, and generally to screw the last penny out of the farmer while doing nothing for the land himself. While this state of things continued, the prosperity of Bengal rested on the caprice of a few hundred irresponsible natives. Cornwallis, seeing dimly that this land system did not altogether resemble the English, yet feeling (with a touch of the usual abstract politician in him) that the beautiful simplicity of our English landlord and tenant arrangement must make it the ideal for every country on earth, determined to introduce it in Bengal with such few adaptations as might be necessary. He pictured the grateful zamindar, once made owner of his tributary acres, as zealously resolving to put every penny of profit into the improvement of his property, breaking up and draining waste land, building model cottages, and generally demeaning himself as an ideal landlord. It is a peculiarity of the philanthropic Briton to have immense confidence in the

virtues of every other race but his own. Against the advice of his most experienced officer, Sir John Shore, Cornwallis insisted on coming at once to a permanent arrangement.* The zamindars became land-owners, paying for their land a fixed tax to the ruling power: if the property increased in value, or the currency in which the tax was paid decreased in value, it was to the zamindar's profit: if new land in his district was brought into cultivation, the whole of the new rent went into his pocket. Some few ryots who could prove a long tenure of their farms were given fixed occupancy at a fixed rent: a large number got fixed occupancy, with a rent that could be raised on appeal to the law-courts: but the majority were really at their new landlord's mercy from year to year. The zamindar had been a hereditary tax-collector with opportunities for extortion: he became in 1793 a land-owner not quite so independent as an English squire, but much more so than an Irish landlord of to-day. And he obtained this gift without doing a hand's turn for it: he performed no duties save that of handing over to the government a continually decreasing proportion of his rents; and he was asked to perform no others except those of keeping order in the villages (which he never did), of preventing frauds on the salt and opium revenue (but the frauds were usually of his devising), and of carrying the mails through his district on cross-country roads. Everything else was done for him: the British Government protected him from Mahratta raids, the ryot cleared and filled and drained and worked his land. And the zamindar still sits and smiles at his own prosperity.

Terms of the Bengal Settlement.

It was an experiment tried on imperfect knowledge

* Here the influence of Francis is traceable: he had strongly advocated permanence against Hastings' proposal for five-year settlements.

of the facts, and made irrevocable against expert advice. It has never been repeated in its original shape outside Bengal.* We can see nowadays that a twenty—or even a ten—years' trial of the new plan would have led to valuable amendments and distributed much more fairly the increased value of Bengal land. But two of its results were so important that for them one is almost tempted to consider the whole settlement justifiable. It gave, in the first place, a great and much needed proof to the Hindu that his new rulers were as disinterested as they were firm. Every former conqueror of Bengal had rack-rented it: these latest conquerors deliberately bound themselves to abstain from any such arbitrariness. The shifty Bengali felt that he deserved to be the servant of men who kept their word against their own interests. And the settlement gave, in the second place, to the zamindars so great an interest in the maintenance of British government that the terrible year of the Mutiny hardly stirred Bengal at all. The Sepoys might mutiny in their cantonments, but beyond them they were powerless and friendless. And it is worth much revenue to have saved Patna and Dacca from the horrors of Cawnpore.

It was on the whole an unwise measure,

but in two ways much strengthened our position in India.

Bengal, therefore, remained undisturbed, and has practically done so ever since. But the Deccan had still problems of foreign politics to be solved. Cornwallis had to face, with his hands tied, the situation which had all but mastered Warren Hastings—the balance of power between the Mahrattas, Tipu, and the Nizam. Tipu, like his father, was the actively disturbing element. He sent embassies to France and Turkey, getting from the one

Troubles in the Deccan.

Tipu's embassies, 1787.

* Except as regards about 2000 square miles in Oudh, which were permanently settled as a reward for their owners' services during the Mutiny.

cautious civility, from the other empty though effusive welcome: but when he ventured on open war, the other powers of the Peninsula soon reduced him to a quiescence which chafed him. Still the English policy, both under Cornwallis and during the five years' rule of his *locum tenens*, Sir John Shore, forbade any further interference than was absolutely necessary to keep the peace. Our Governors looked on while Tipu gathered his strength, while the Nizam (whom we allowed to be defeated by the Mahrattas) organized an army under French officers, while the Mahratta chiefs established themselves at Delhi and remodelled their armies on the European fashion. Against active French intervention only were strong measures taken. Cornwallis was as prompt to seize the French settlements in 1793 as Hastings had been fifteen years before: and Nelson's eager pursuit of Bonaparte to Egypt was chiefly due to our knowledge of French schemes for an alliance with Tipu.*

War with Mysore, 1790-92.

Sir John Shore, Governor-General, 1793-8.

War between Nizam and Mahrattas, 1795.

Mahrattas in Delhi.

Bonaparte in Egypt, 1798-9.

B. Wellesley Creates our Indian Empire.

On the very day when Tipu heard that that alliance had been concluded—not by Bonaparte, but by the Governor of Mauritius—one of India's greatest Governor-Generals landed at Madras. Richard Wellesley, Lord Mornington (he won in India his better known title of the Marquess Wellesley), was the eldest of four distinguished brothers. William (Lord Maryborough) became a successful politician: Henry (Lord Cowley) a famous diplomatist: Arthur we know as the "Great Duke" of

Treaty between Tipu and the French, May 17, 1798.

Wellesley, Governor-General, 1798-1805.

* Bonaparte wrote to Tipu from Cairo in 1799, promising him "release from the iron yoke of the English."

Wellington. Richard, to whom his brothers owed their first opportunities of distinction, surpassed them all in the variety of his genius: he was strategist and statesman too—which Wellington never was—and he had that far-reaching, all-grasping conception of the problems of empire, that eagle's view, which makes it no flattery to call such a man Imperial. For him as for his better known brother India was to be the training-ground on which they learnt how to defeat Napoleon: Waterloo may have been won on the playing-fields at Eton, but the Peninsular War (which was Wellesley's war as much as Wellington's) was more certainly a result of that victorious pro-consulate with which we have now to deal.

The times were favourable to an energetic ruler. The acquittal of Warren Hastings after his long agony had silenced the Little-England party of those days: and any war in India was merely a part of the all-pervading war with France, still dear to the nation's heart. Wellesley, moreover, had the support of Dundas, the responsible minister for Indian affairs: and he knew that, whatever defeat or reverses might bring, Dundas was not the man to betray a victorious friend. He made up his mind to be victorious, and (having thus secured ministerial support) to neglect and defy, if necessary, the dividend-spinners of the East India Company.

Warren Hastings acquitted, 1795.

Tipu was, of course, the immediate enemy; but the English troops were in no condition for a war. Wellesley kept Tipu employed with diplomatic correspondence while he turned sharply on the Nizam of Hyderabad and forced him to dismiss all his French officers and replace them by English ones. Tipu took no alarm, and thought himself safe enough to become insolent. Almost in the

The Nizam's French troops dismissed, 1798.

words of the American humorist he bade the Governor-General "go on writing me letters—I'm always glad to know how you are."* The reply was prompt and decisive, for Wellesley had now got his army into condition. On February 3, 1799, he began the war: in three months the English troops had twice defeated the Mysore king, driven him into his capital of Seringapatam, besieged and stormed it, and killed Tipu himself. At home the news was scarcely believed: the glamour of the East had magnified our enemy into a second Bonaparte, and the name of his conqueror was in every one's mouth. Not undeservedly: for Wellesley's statesmanship was now proved to be in no way inferior to his generalship. His brother, Colonel Wellesley, was set to restore order. Mysore proper, the old Hindu kingdom which Hyder Ali had seized, was given back to the heirs of its ancient rulers. The districts bordering on Hyderabad were handed over to the Nizam, and some further west offered to the Peshwa of the Mahrattas if he chose to abandon the French. The strongest fortresses, and the whole sea coast of Tipu's dominions, remained in English hands, a sure guarantee against further disturbance in the south of the peninsula. The whole presidency of Madras became at once as tranquil as Bengal. Praises poured in upon the victor from all Anglo-India, from the Company, from Parliament, and (his greatest delight) from the Army—which rarely cares to admit that it has been led to conquest by a civilian. The House of Commons, that in 1793 had denounced any further extension of dominion, was for the first time stirred into an acknowledgment in so many words of "The British Empire in India."

Last Mysore War, Feb. to May, 1799.

Partition of Mysore.

* "Continue to allow me the pleasure of your correspondence, making me happy by accounts of your health." Tipu to Wellesley, received 25th Dec. 1798.

It was in this partition of Mysore that Wellesley first showed his plan of consolidating our supremacy. The "buffer-state" principle had been found unsatisfactory. It had not actually broken down: Oudh and Hyderabad had served their turn in keeping the Afghans and the Mahrattas at a distance while we learnt how to rule Bengal and Madras. But we were now strong enough to defend ourselves, and native states (as the Nizam's case had shown) were not by any means trustworthy allies in time of danger. Wellesley therefore decided to reverse completely the policy of his predecessors, to encircle the allied states with a ring of English possessions, and to let all possible inroads on the utmost borders of our jurisdiction break themselves against an immovable barrier of British troops. To secure the territories required for this scheme of defence he had recourse to his classical learning.

The new policy of subsidiary treaties.

Greek history tells us how the League of Delos between independent Greek states was converted into the empire of Athens. It was provided in the League that each state should contribute so many ships to the common Navy. Presently the smaller states, being lazy, made an agreement with Athens that she, who had the machinery at command, should supply the necessary ships at a cheaper rate, so that all they need do was to pay her the cost. A little later it was found that the League's navy was overwhelmingly Athenian, and that the smaller states were practically paying tribute to their wiser neighbour.

A parallel from Greek history.

That way the course of our Indian policy had long been trending, and Wellesley took every advantage of the trend. The Nizam in Hyderabad, the Nawabs of the Carnatic and Tanjore, the Nawab of Oudh, had bound themselves to the Company, some to keep up an army for mutual

The policy carried out, 1800-1.

defence against outside attacks, some to grant subsidies for the maintenance of the Company's troops for the same purpose. Wellesley induced them all to accept British troops: and because they complained of the cost of maintenance he at once offered to take over certain districts of their territory and subsidize the regiments himself from the revenues of those districts. In the case of the two smaller states, whose rulers had treacherously intrigued with Tipu, practically the whole territory passed under British control. Hyderabad gave up the districts taken from Mysore: Oudh surrendered Rohilkhand and the Jumna-Ganges strip. The ceded districts soon became the home of an industrious and unworried population: and the work entailed on English officials in putting down local tyranny and extortion is sufficient evidence of the good done by the new policy.

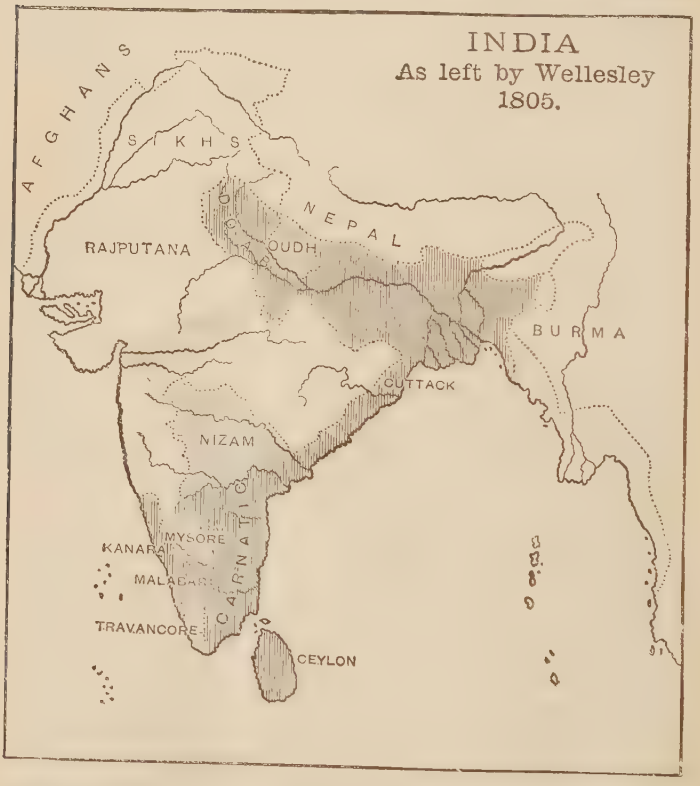
By 1802 the ring-fence was almost complete.* The coast-line was in British hands from Goa to Chittagong. The Jumna formed our north-western frontier against the Mahrattas. Mysore, Travancore, and Oudh, each completely shut in by British territory, were more or less prosperous under native rulers. The Madras and Bengal presidencies were tranquilly developing their resources behind Wellesley's impregnable shield. Even the Nizam, still exposed on one frontier to Mahratta raids, feared them little since a British garrison had been assigned for his defence. The Mahratta powers alone were capable of disturbing the peace: and they held a position which gave them great advantages, while their complete exclusion from the most fertile scenes of their former raids made them every day more eager for an open and exterminating war.

Wellesley's India.

* See map, page 190.

The Mahratta confederacy was fast breaking up into hostile states.* The Peshwa, formerly undisputed leader of the whole clan, was now merely one among five important chiefs. He ruled in Poona with less authority, if anything, than that exercised by Sindhia at Delhi, by Holkar at Indore, by the Bhonsla

Disunion among the Mahrattas.



in Berar, and by the Gaikwar in Baroda. There were repeated quarrels, especially between Holkar and Sindhia; and when, near the end of 1802, Holkar

* For a vivid picture of this period, see Hockley's "Pandurang Hari."

routed both Sindhia and the Peshwa under the walls of Poona, Wellesley saw that his opportunity was come. He made with the defeated Peshwa a treaty like those with the Nizam and the Nawab Vizier: British troops were in future to guarantee his authority in Poona, and Mahratta territory was ceded to pay for their support. Arthur Wellesley, now a General, conducted our new ally back to his capital.

Treaty of Bassein, 1802

Two only of the chiefs took immediate alarm. Sindhia, smarting under one defeat and sure that he had now lost all his influence over the Peshwa, united with the Bhonsla of Berar and threatened the Hyderabad frontier. The attack was to have been fourfold—the Rohillas invading Oudh, and Sindhia attacking the Nizam, while Holkar marched on Benares and the Bhonsla on Bengal. But Holkar sulked, and the Gaikwar was won over by astute diplomacy to become an ally of the English and to cede the whole coast-line of the Gulf of Cambay. But any delay might see the end of Holkar's ill-temper. Wellesley determined to strike at once. His brother advanced from Poona against the combined armies on the Hyderabad border, and routed nearly ten times his number at Assaye. Two months after he met at Argaum all the troops the Bhonsla could rally, and broke them to pieces. On December 17 the Bhonsla signed the usual treaty, and the Deccan war was soon over. In the north events moved no less rapidly. General Lake, advancing from Cawnpore, stormed Aligarh on September 4, defeated Sindhia's northern army a week later outside Delhi, occupied Delhi and Agra, and broke up Sindhia's reserves at Laswari as completely as his colleague did the Bhonslas at Argaum. Sindhia signed his treaty on December 30.

War with Napoleon, Apr. 1803.
Mahratta war, Aug. to Dec. 1803.
Assaye, Sept. 23.
Argaum, Nov. 29.
Delhi, Sept. 11.
Laswari, Nov. 1.

The war had lasted less than six months, and

Wellesley had attained every object he had aimed at. The last of the French officers in native employ had disappeared from India: there was no corner of the coast left on which a Frenchman could land. Delhi, and the last of the Mogul Emperors, and all the weight of undefined authority that the Mogul name still bore India, were from henceforth on the English side. From Cutch to Chittagong, from the Sutlej to Cape Comorin, Britain was paramount and incontestably sovereign.

Results of the war.

So at least it seemed to the great Proconsul for a few short months of 1804. So it would have been, but for the unexpected faint-heartedness of British officers, and the usual fickleness of politicians at home. Wellesley had argued right from the first. Victories and successes could induce Dundas and his successor, Castlereagh, to back up the Governor-General against all attacks from the Company's directors: but victories and successes alone could do it. While they lasted, the directors themselves could only alternate irritating votes of censure with abject requests to him not to resign. But the first reverse was fatal. This imperious man, nominally their servant, overwhelmed them in great matters and annoyed them in small. Their interests were bound up with monopoly: he was all for free trade.* They headed a close corporation of officials: he brought in from wherever he could find them the men best able to do his work. They counted every penny of his salary and allowances: he lived among the princes he had conquered in Eastern state and ceremony, the master of an Empire, not merely the managing director of a firm. They sent out half-educated boys of eighteen to

Wellesley is not backed up.

Friction between the Governor-General and the Directors.

* *I.e.*, the liberty of all British subjects to trade in India, not of the E.I.C. only.

take in their hands the lives and fortunes of perhaps half a million natives: when Wellesley proposed to educate them for their duties, the directors snubbed and insulted him. His brothers especially were marks for their attack: they reduced Arthur's allowance when he was commanding in Mysore, and demanded Henry's dismissal while he was reforming Oudh. They were honourable men in private life—they may even have been amiable: but they treated Wellesley as if he were a cross between Richard III. and Jack Sheppard. His outlook covered half the world, and they thought he was trying to fill his pockets. Bottom on Pegasus could not have kicked his ribs more uselessly, or have been more horribly afraid all the time of a sudden fall.

The reverse came. Holkar, the one Mahratta chief still unsubdued, recovered soon enough from his sulks when he saw his compatriots go down like ninepins. In April, 1804, the war against him began, Lake moving from Delhi and Murray from Gujarat against the Malwa lands. But Holkar had kept to the traditions of his forefathers, and did not believe in the regular European-drilled standing armies which had led Sindhia and the Bhonsla to their ruin. They were strong weapons, it is true, and hard to beat down: but, once broken, they had no rallying power. Laswari and Argaum would have been less decisive against the old hordes of roving Mahratta horsemen: and in such hordes Holkar placed his chief reliance. Murray and Monson (Lake's second in command) found no one to fight, but were constantly harassed by troops of light horse. They retreated in opposite directions over swollen rivers during the rains; and Monson's force was a mere rabble before it reached Agra.

The war breaks out again, Apr. 1804.

Monson's retreat, July 8 to Aug. 31.

The disaster was quickly retrieved. Murray plucked

up courage to seize Indore while Holkar was in pursuit of Monson, and the chief himself, after a fierce battle at Dig, was driven into the Punjab and forced at last to sign a treaty parallel with those of his fellow-chiefs. But the one defeat had done all the mischief: Wellesley was recalled, Cornwallis sent out in haste to take over the government, the treaties with Sindhia and Holkar were cancelled, and the policy of the eagle thrown aside for the policy of the snail. Cornwallis died within three months of his arrival, and the local official who took his place sympathized with the dividend-requirers. They could not for shame abandon the territories which Wellesley had actually given them: but they drew a sharp line at the British frontiers, and left Sindhia and Holkar and the chiefs of Rajputana and the Pindari freebooters to tear each other to pieces in the lands beyond the pale.

Dig, Nov. 13

Cornwallis returns, July 30, 1805; dies on Oct. 5.

Barlow, Deputy-Governor, 1805-7.

C. Wellesley's System Completed.

Yet however much the East India Company might desire to isolate its possessions and its affairs in Asia, the isolation could only be local and temporary. It was not dangerous, but only selfish, to let Rajputana stew in its own juice now that the Wellesleys had broken the Mahratta power: but new foes were being stirred up not very far away by the greatest enemy of all—Napoleon, whom from first to last the Wellesleys knew as *the* enemy, whose intrigues they were thwarting at Assaye no less than they destroyed his plans at Torres Vedras and at Waterloo. In 1805 a French embassy was at Teheran: in 1807 Napoleon was urging his new ally, the Emperor

Danger from Napoleon's schemes.

Peace of Tilsit, 1807.

of Russia, to take part in a joint expedition through Turkey and Persia against British India. Lord Minto, the new Viceroy, sent out counter-embassies in hot haste. Ranjit Singh, the Sikh ruler at Lahore—the Amirs of Sinde—Shah Shuja of Afghanistan—and the Shah of Persia—were all besieged with offers of alliance: but the danger was averted by other means (yet by the Wellesleys* again) when the Peninsular War fastened itself like a leech on Napoleon's Empire and drained it to the point of exhaustion.

Lord Minto, Governor-General, 1807-13.

So British India settled down to a slow but steady progress. The last years of Napoleonic war made it inaccessible to enemies from the sea: the Cape of Good Hope and Mauritius passed finally under British rule, and the French were ejected from their latest conquest, Java. In 1813 the periodical renewal of the Company's charter by Parliament led to the throwing open of Indian trade to all British subjects, the Company retaining only the monopoly of trade with China. So step by step the rulers of India proceeded along the path which the Great Marquess had laid down for them: and by 1818 he was able to rejoice in the complete carrying out of his great scheme of Indian pacification.

The Cape taken, 1806.

Mauritius taken, 1810.

Java taken, 1811.

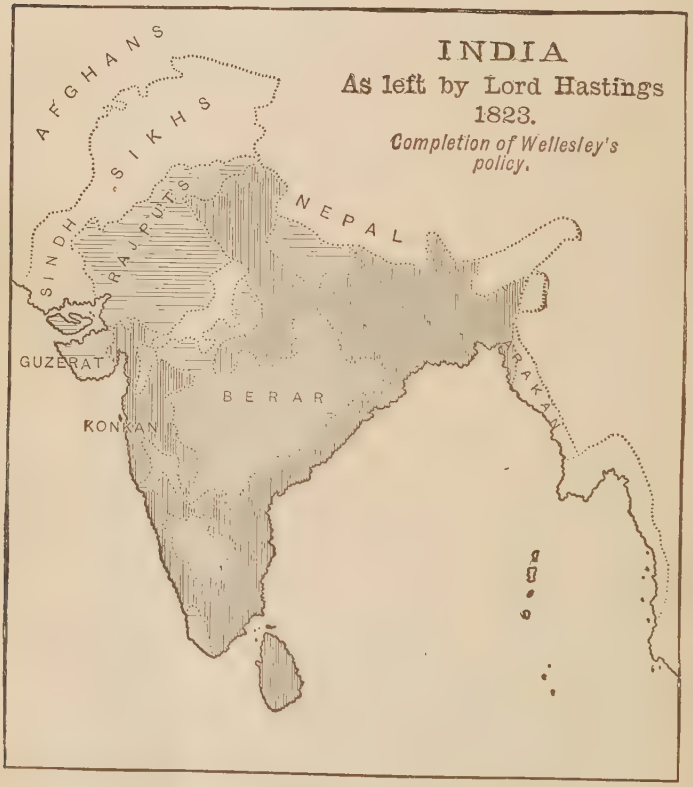
Lord Hastings, Governor-General, 1813-23.

For the chaos beyond the pale was stirring and breaking its bounds, and out of the turmoil came indignant complaints—"In India there has always been some dominant power to protect quiet people against banditti: you English have seized the supremacy, and have no right to shirk your duty as protectors." The

* Three this time: for Henry was Ambassador to Spain while the Marquess was Foreign Secretary.

appeal was emphasized by an attempted revolt of the Peshwa and other Mahratta chiefs whose treaties still held good: and Lord Hastings took the opportunity to deal with the whole trouble in one scheme. The revolt was sternly put down: the

Last Mahratta War, 1817-18.



Peshwa was deposed and his dominions annexed: the remains of the Mahratta confederacy, together with the

kingdoms of Rajputana, were put under the British protectorate: and the freebooting Pindari bands were destroyed out of the land.

All these roundings off of the British frontier were bringing us face to face with a number of independent kingdoms on the outskirts of India, which had sprung up about the time of our own first victories there. In the years immediately following 1757 four dynasties were establishing themselves in the Indian border-lands. The Gurkhas, a Rajput clan, made themselves a kingdom in the Himalayan valleys of Nepal. Alompra had added to his petty chieftainship in Upper Burma all the Lower Irrawadi and Salwen and the coast-lands below Chittagong as far as Martaban. The Durani chiefs laid hold on Afghanistan, and forced it like a kicking mule into harness. And the Sikh clans, of whom we have already spoken, drew together on the Upper Indus, till under Ranjit Singh they occupied Kashmir and drove the Afghans from Peshawur into the hills of the Soliman Range. The Afghans and Sikhs were our natural friends, securing our north-western frontier from invasion by land: their bitter hatred of each other—Mohammedan and strict Hindu—freed us from fear of a hostile combination between them: and when the embassy of 1808 had arranged with Ranjit Singh a mutual frontier on the Sutlej, our outlook in that direction was undisturbed. But in 1814 the Gurkhas encroached on Bengal, and the first of our hill wars was needed to bring them to reason. The western end of their state was ceded, bringing British dominion to the summit of the Himalayas: but no subsidiary treaty was imposed, and independent Nepal has been ever since our staunch friend and the nursery of some of our best Indian regiments.

The border states,

Nepal,

Burma,

Afghanistan,

the Sikhs.

War with Nepal, 1814-16.

Lord Amherst, Governor-General, 1823-8.

First Burmese War, 1824-6.

The Burmese attacked us next, probably the least intelligent enemies we had faced since Plassey. Practically ignorant of European warfare, they thrust against us north-westward through the hills of Manipur, and infringed on our coast-line in the Bay of Bengal. Lord Amherst wasted no time on border skirmishes, but struck at the heart of the Burmese Empire, forcing a passage up the Irrawadi to the capital at Ava. The expedition was ill-equipped and managed, but it was a success. Assam became British, and all the Bay of Bengal coast-line as far south as Tenasserim. There was peace again through the Empire, which nothing could disturb but the advance of a hostile Empire against our frontiers on the north-west.

D. Bentinck and Internal Reform.

Bentinck, Governor-General, 1828-34.

Macaulay's eulogy of him.

The twelve years of peace which followed the Burmese war gave occasion for the work of another great Governor-General. When Wellesley in 1804 was at the height of his power, he received from the Governor of Madras a letter full of admiration for "the system which has founded British greatness upon Indian happiness." Twenty-four years later the writer of that letter, taking up Wellesley's office, set himself to complete by a wise scheme of internal reforms the system which he had so much admired. And when his seven years' work was over, it was with the consenting voice of British and natives alike that Macaulay (happier when he praises

than when he blames our Indian rulers) could dedicate a statue

TO
WILLIAM CAVENDISH BENTINCK,
WHO INFUSED INTO ORIENTAL DESPOTISM THE SPIRIT OF BRITISH FREEDOM:
WHO NEVER FORGOT THAT THE END OF GOVERNMENT IS THE HAPPINESS OF THE GOVERNED:
WHO ABOLISHED CRUEL RITES:
WHO EFFACED HUMILIATING DISTINCTIONS:
WHO GAVE LIBERTY TO THE EXPRESSION OF PUBLIC OPINION:
WHOSE CONSTANT STUDY IT WAS TO ELEVATE THE INTELLECTUAL AND MORAL CHARACTER OF THE NATION COMMITTED TO HIS CHARGE.

When we make allowance for the traditional pomposity of inscriptions and for such expressions as represent the political philosophy of that day, we find in this dedication a carefully correct account of Bentinck's work in India. His Governor-Generalship coincides with our English epoch of Reform, the belated revival in Britain of those abstract ideas of government on which the French Revolution had based itself. The philosopher before he becomes a politician is the most uncompromising of reformers: he abhors monopolies, he shudders at enforced discipline, he has a stock of capital letters for the glorification of Right and Reason. To him such rule as the Company's was in India is almost unthinkable. Its monopoly of the China trade—its wars with Nepal and Burma (about which the abstract philosopher would know nothing except that they were successful, and would assuredly infer that they were wrong)—its edicts for the better government of a subject population, on which

The Epoch of Reform.

The Company's Charter in danger.

that population could not so much as vote—were all crimes which cried out for its instant abolition. And while Parliament might be trusted to modify this philosophic severity for British use, the directors of the Company were quite aware that no Ministry would hesitate to sacrifice them, if terms could thus be made with the reformers. The Company's only chance of continued existence was to emphasize, before its Charter came up for renewal, the peaceful, prosperous, and humanitarian nature of its government: and Bentinck was selected to produce this effect.

They builded better than they knew. Bentinck had quite enough sympathy with the party of reform to take every opportunity of applying its principles to Indian politics: while his previous experience of the natives in Madras taught him how inapplicable those principles must be in their crude philosophic form. During the first years of his rule he confined himself to the careful supervision of the machinery already at his disposal. He cut down the exorbitant pay of the military officers, economized in the land administration, and reorganized the local Courts of Justice. But in doing this he was able to introduce quietly one most important alteration in the details of government; he entrusted the simpler tasks of office to the natives themselves. It was a step hardly possible at any previous period, when the memories of native administration and native justice in the days of Clive and Verelst would have been strong in the Anglo-Indian mind. But fifty years of British rule had done something to raise the native standard in these matters —so far at least, that under strict European supervision a few of them might be trusted to deal fairly with their countrymen, and to relieve trained and valuable

Bentinck a judicious reformer.

He brings natives into the Civil Service.

English servants of the Company from the drearier routine work of the departments. The Directors approved this step because it was cheap, the Reformers because it savoured of the rights of man ; for Bentinck it was the beginning of a new India, more trustworthy because more self-reliant—for even under the most benevolent of despotisms it ruins a man to do nothing for himself.

It was partly the popularity which this measure gained for Bentinck among the Hindus that enabled him to carry out two great acts of interference with their religious cruelties, the suppression of the Thugs and the abolition of Suttee. In the first matter the great difficulty was to secure united action : the Thug bands had pursued their career of pious and profitable murder all over Central India, with branches in Oudh and the Deccan, and only the co-operation of several native States with the British Government could thoroughly dishearten and crush them. Still, united action once secured, the rest was comparatively easy ; murder was the Thugs' religion rather than that of their victims—piety is at a discount when it involves the right of some one else to strangle the devotee. But Suttee was a different thing ; the piety which demands that some one else should kill herself for the devotee's benefit is likely to be popular and often bigoted. From time immemorial widows had been burnt on their husbands' funeral pyres. The very name, Suttee, denoted the virtue of the victim. The Company's officials, rightly careful to respect Hindu religious traditions, had sometimes ignored the custom and sometimes tried to regulate it. Governor after Governor was horrified at its brutality, but feared still more the possibility of a revolt among the high-caste Sepoys of the Bengal army. It occurred to Bentinck to

He suppresses the Thugs, 1829-35, and abolishes Suttee, Dec. 4, 1829.

enquire whether the Sepoys were after all so much attached to this rite; and when the answer came that it was almost unknown among them, Suttee was doomed. The Bengalis submitted with very little trouble; they did indeed appeal to the Privy Council, but yielded at once to the adverse decision of that body; and British officers were no longer required to sanction a barbarity which the French and Dutch had never permitted within the bounds of their pettier jurisdictions.*

The extension of the land-settlements beyond Bengal was another work begun under Bentinck's direction. In the North-West Provinces, where he set his officials at work, the worst difficulties of the situation in Bengal were not repeated. In Bengal the ryots were many-times-conquered Hindus, the zamindars were mostly the descendants of foreign adventurers, and the true successions of ownership were inextricably confused. But around Delhi and on the Upper Ganges the zamindars, being more directly under the monarch's eye, had found less opportunity of exalting themselves from rent-collector to owner; so that the old village-communities had been much less disturbed. Land-settlements, therefore, in these districts had surer facts for their foundation, and their devisers had the great mistake of Cornwallis always before them for a warning. What Bentinck began was gradually copied all over British India; for though Madras and Bombay had made experiments of their own, there was still much room for improvement. The ryot himself in Bombay and the greater part of Madras, the village-community of ryots in the Central and North-Western Provinces, were treated as direct tenants of the Crown, and the rent

The new surveys and settlements.

* Suttee still went on in the native States. Hardinge tried to suppress it; Dalhousie was forced not only to warn feudatories, but to punish one of them for encouraging it.

was settled with them subject to periodical and impartial revision.

But the most important work of Bentinck's administration came towards its close. In 1833, after a three years' investigation into the Company's mercantile and political business, Parliament renewed its Charter for another twenty years. Such at least is the official record: the plain man would describe the act as a metamorphosis of the Company. Certainly the butterfly is not more unlike the grub than was the Company of 1834 unlike the Company of 1784. Not only the China trade, but all mercantile work of every kind, was taken from this renovated body. Bentinck's rule had proved more successful than the directors wished. He had convinced the British public not only that the Company would rule India on the most humanitarian principles, but that under its rule India could pay its own way without being subsidized from the profits of the China trade. "Your administration is good," Parliament practically said, "your trade is precarious: permit us to relieve you of the sordid cares of dividend-making, that your whole attention may be given to that task of governing which you even now so admirably perform."

The Charter of 1833.

This altered position of the Company's servants, who were henceforth to govern India entirely for its own benefit without a thought of trade, gave Bentinck the opportunity he had been looking for. From that time the admission of natives to the greater part of the Civil Service became merely a question of fitness. It will long remain so: it takes more than a century of even British supervision to breed a Bengali fit for great command. But even the first steps in that direction were almost impossible while the natives spoke some Hindu dialect only, while lawyers

English becomes the official language of India.

argued in Persian and civil servants wrote minutes in elaborate English. By a resolution of March 7, 1835, the brains as well as the swords of all India were placed at the disposal of the Indian Government. English became the official language: European literature and science, unrepresented in the multitude of Eastern languages, which had not even the words wherewith to translate them, were given for food to brains no less subtle than those of mediæval schoolmen: and Bentinck and Macaulay (for the time being a member of his Council) became the fathers of an Indian Renaissance that is still in progress.

E. Wars Again.

The native states again left to themselves.

The conditions under which Bentinck had been sent out debarred him from any interference with the protected native states. For the epoch of Reform Warren Hastings was an able tyrant: and James Mill, the vilifier of many great Anglo-Indians, had kindly patronised the latest Governor-General as a humanitarian ruler. From Hyderabad and Oudh was taken even such small control as had been customary,—the population being thus abandoned to a native tyranny which Dalhousie in later years had to suppress, and whose suppression had much to do with the Mutiny. In Mysore the natives rose against the barbarities of their ruler, and would not be pacified till they were incorporated with the British dominions.*

The three ages of British India.

There are three well-marked eras in the history of our Indian Empire. It begins with forty years of competitive conquest, during which France was our eager and dangerous opponent in the struggle for dominion. Forty years followed,

* Mysore was restored to a better native ruler in 1881.

during which the French danger paled and vanished, and British authority was established over the greater part of geographical India without any interference from outside. And then from landward, across the deserts and the mountain ranges of our north-western frontier, loomed up the shadow of a more gigantic rival, of whom little was understood and nothing could be predicted but unremitting progress and increasing power. Russia has become much more commonplace to our modern statesmen: we have come to see that a great deal of her advance in Central Asia is merely the counterpart of ours in India—except in so far as Russia does not thwart her Clives and her Wellesleys. But for many years men watched her with bitter anxiety, as in the night one dimly watches a rising flood; to many an Indian statesman she was an impending darkness that might be felt.

The advance of Russia.

When Bentinck arrived in India the Russian advance had begun. A treaty with Persia had confirmed Russian influence in that state, and its first result was a threatened Persian attack on Herat. It was of immediate importance to strengthen our hold on the buffer states in that direction: and Bentinck initiated the policy, which Lord Auckland carried out more fully, of combining with Ranjit Singh and the Amirs of Sinde to establish a firm and friendly government in Afghanistan. That country was for the time ruled by Dost Mohammed, the son of a former prime minister, who had expelled the legitimate heir Shah Shuja. In 1837 it was learnt that he had received Russian agents at his court, and Lord Auckland at once marched a British army through Sinde upon Kandahar and replaced Shah Shuja on the throne. For two years we kept him there: but in

Persian siege of Herat, 1837.

Lord Auckland, Governor-General, 1836-42.

The first Afghan war, 1838.

Afghanistan there is no long rule for a weakling, branded with the stigma of former defeat, and still further discredited by the acceptance of foreign support. Moreover, our army of occupation had to draw its supplies by the devious route through Sinde, as the Sikhs (on the direct route) were unwilling to let us cross their territory—were, indeed, none too friendly allies. Presently Dost Mohammed's son, Akbar Khan, stirred up the tribes round Kabul; the British Resident there lost his head, tried to improve matters by treachery, and was murdered with equal treachery: the small British army, which could have held its own as a much later one did inside the great citadel, was led out to a hopeless retreat by an incompetent general—and one man reached in safety the nearest British garrison at Jelalabad. To leave the Afghans flushed with such triumph would have been dangerous in the extreme: an army marched from Kandahar, another forced its way from Peshawur to Kabul, and Dost Mohammed, although replaced upon the throne, had learnt wisdom enough to understand that Britain could reach him through all his mountain-barriers and all his wild hill-tribes.

Burnes and Macnaghten murdered at Kabul, 1841.

Second Afghan War, 1841-2.

Massacre in the Khurd-Kabul Pass, Jan. 8, 1842.

Kabul recaptured by Pollock, Sept. 15.

These disturbances were the beginning of new wars within Hindustan itself. Ranjit Singh died in 1839, and the Sikhs grew restless. The heirs of Sindhia at Gwalior incited his army to open mutiny. The Amirs of Sinde lagged somewhat in their prompt obedience to the Governor-General's demands. Lord Ellenborough suspected treachery on all sides: he crushed the Gwalior army, which deserved it, and forcibly annexed Sinde, whose rulers had not merited

Ranjit Singh dies, June 27, 1839.

Lord Ellenborough, Governor-General, 1842-4.

Sinde annexed, 1843.

such treatment. Before he could deal with the Sikhs he was recalled, and left this last great conquest to his successor, Sir Henry Hardinge.

Lord Hardinge, Governor-General, 1844-8.

The Punjab was bubbling over with anarchy. Six years of assassination had placed on the throne an infant whom his mother declared to be the son of Ranjit Singh. The mother was regent, her favourite was her prime minister: but the only power in the state was the army, an organization of Hindu religious zealots as stark in fight as Cromwell's Ironsides, and as fiercely fanatic as Mohammed's first Arabs. Already this "army of the Khalsa"* was preparing to destroy the band of intriguers at Lahore when their general, himself one of the band, astutely turned their rage upon the British outside their borders. But Hardinge had foreseen an invasion, and met the Sikhs at Mudki—a hardly won battle, which, followed by a still more desperate one at Firozshah, induced them to retire within their own territory. When in a month they broke out again, Hardinge's heavy guns had arrived, and two more fierce battles at Aliwal and Sobraon tamed even these hardy foes. The British army occupied Lahore: a council of Sikh nobles was set up to act as Regent during the boy-prince's minority: Sir Henry Lawrence was appointed British Resident: the Khalsa was reduced to a third of its former numbers, and deprived of nearly all its artillery. This weakening of the Sikh army rendered it quite unable to control the unruly hill-tribes of Ranjit Singh's northern dominions, or to withstand them if they determined

First Sikh War, 1845-6.

Mudki, Dec. 18, 1845.

Firozshah, Dec. 21-2.

Aliwal, Jan. 28, 1846.

Sobraon, Feb. 10.

Lahore occupied, Feb. 20.

Kashmir becomes separate state under British suzerainty, 16th Mar.

* "Saved Ones."

on an invasion. To avoid trouble, therefore, the Kashmir province was detached from Sikh rule, and given to Gholab Singh, the most formidable of the upland chiefs, to rule under British suzerainty; while a small strip in the east of the Punjab was added to the British dominions. And Lord Hardinge, when he left India after four years of hard work, assured his successor that "it would not be necessary to fire a gun in India for seven years to come."*

F. Dalhousie.

Dalhousie, Governor-General, 1848-56.

Fortunately for the Empire, that successor was the Marquess of Dalhousie. Hastings had made us secure in India, Wellesley had made us paramount: for Dalhousie it was reserved to round off our territory, to make us protectors as well of the people as of their rulers, and to settle not only the administrative but the industrial development of India along lines which it follows steadily at the present moment. If British India now reaches from Chitral to the Mekong, it is because Dalhousie of set policy extended it from Peshawur to Pegu. If the peoples of India seem within measurable distance of becoming the Indian people, it is because with roads and canals and railways and telegraphs he bound firmly together the cumbrous ill-cohering mass, and by sharp lessons in Oudh and Berar and Nagpur taught princes and subjects alike that under British protection only wise and benevolent systems of government can dare to hope for existence.

Dalhousie landed at Calcutta on the 12th January,

* Others were not so sanguine: in 1846 Sir C. Napier said, "The tragedy must be re-acted a year or two hence."

1848, to receive from Hardinge a welcome that ended with the words already quoted. Barely three months later the Punjab was all aflame again. The Sikh governor of Multan, a great market town on the Jhelum, was called upon to send in his financial report, and in default offered to resign. But when two British officers were sent by the Regency to take over his governorship he had them treacherously murdered and broke into open rebellion. Lord Gough, the British commander-in-chief, refused to march during the hot weather, and Dalhousie was not yet experienced enough in Indian matters to overrule his decision. But a young English subaltern in charge of a small post on the Indus had heard the news also: hastily he got together a few hundred men and marched upon Multan, meeting on his way the rebel with a ten times larger army. "Like a terrier barking at a tiger," to use his own words, Edwardes* throughout the long summer faced and mastered the growing forces of rebellion, till he had driven them back into Multan and held them cooped up there. Lord Gough stayed at Simla and worked out plans of what he would do in the winter. Suddenly, he found the whole Sikh nation in arms against him, and behind the Sikhs their hitherto mortal enemies, the Afghan tribesmen. He decided to reinforce the besiegers of Multan, and his reinforcements arrived just in time for a much more hurried retreat. Dalhousie lost patience, and with 17,000 new troops rushed in person to the Punjab frontier.

Second Sikh War, 1848-9.

Rebellion at Multan, April 19, 1848.

Herbert Edwardes' campaign on the Indus.

The Sikhs rise, and seek alliance with the Afghans.

The siege of Multan was resumed, and the town taken: Lord Gough, spurred into a rashness scarcely

* Afterwards negotiator of the treaty with Dost Mohammed that kept Afghanistan quiet during the Mutiny. We guaranteed him possession of Herat, and to keep our word had to fight Persia in 1856-7.

less dangerous than his former apathy, flung his army against the Sikhs to gain doubtful victories with enormous loss, till the all-but-disaster of Chilianwala sobered him. Then, mustering his whole strength of 24,000 men, he moved steadily upon the massed Sikh armies at Gujrat, where they awaited their Afghan allies. No manner of defeat could have impressed them more. It was a full-dress battle from the first, with every possible effect of artillery duel and charging cavalry and the unbroken orderly advance of British infantry—a fair fight on a fair field ending in a fairly acknowledged victory. The defeated troops were never allowed to rally: and when, three weeks afterwards, the last men of the Khalsa heaped their arms in front of the British line, they almost forgot their defeat in delighted laughter as they heard of the laggards from Afghanistan, who had ridden like lions out of their hills only to be hunted back into them at the lance-point like curs.

Capture of Multan, Jan. 29, 1849. Chilianwala, Jan. 13. Gujrat, Feb. 20.

The Sikh army surrenders at Rawul Pindi, Mar. 12.

Such a conquest of the Punjab was brilliant: the settlement which followed was more than worthy of it. What his brothers were to Wellesley, that the Lawrences were to Dalhousie. Under Hardinge they had been the uncontrolled wielders of British influence in the Sikh state: the new ruler at once confirmed and controlled their power. Henry Lawrence directed the politics, and his brother John the finance, of the new province: it was Dalhousie who created and regulated the system which they so strenuously and successfully administered.*

Dalhousie's settlement of the Punjab.

* Dalhousie was determined to be master everywhere. "The camp's business is to find fighting; I find thought. . . . I will not stand it in quieter times for half-an-hour, and will come down unmistakably upon any one of them who may try it on" (Letter to Sir H. Lawrence, Feb. 20, 1849).

The new frontier was defended by forts and roads, and the raiding Pathan tribes confronted by a body of troops as mobile as their own. The soldiers of the Khalsa were proud to be re-enlisted among the regiments that had so well beaten them. The mass of the nation was disarmed: its turbulent rulers were given merely "their lives and their subsistence": but the taxes were lightened and made more even, State forests, State canals, State roads were laid out over the whole province, and the last of British conquests became in a very short time the best managed, most trustworthy, and most loyal of the British possessions in India.

The Punjab Frontier Force established.

Three years after the annexation of the Punjab another war broke out at the opposite end of the Empire. The Burmese king in his isolation at Ava had never understood the strength of those armies against which his troops had broken themselves in 1825. The usurper who succeeded him outdid him, as *parvenus* will, in insults to the British Resident and outrages on traders. Dalhousie found his demands for redress met with studied brutality, and prepared war at once. His clear eye mastered the whole situation—the deadliness of the climate, which was the army's chief danger, the conceit of the Burmese that would acknowledge no conquest except a permanent annexation. Everything was provided for beforehand: not a life was lost that any care could save. The Burmese were driven from Rangoon, and the river opened as far as Prome. Ava was left untouched, because we were not yet prepared to annex it:* but as far as British arms had penetrated, the country was taken over, and

Second Burmese War, 1852-3.

Rangoon captured, April 12, 1852.

Peace with Burma, June 30, 1853.

* "To march to Ava will give no peace unless the army remain at Ava" (Dalhousie, in a private letter).

Pegu became a part of our dominions. There was no treaty, for the Burmese would not make one: peace was made by proclamation.

Dalhousie's native policy.

Almost more important than these external additions to the Indian Empire were the provinces already within its bounds which now passed under direct British rule. According to Wellesley's policy, which had remained unaltered in its main lines for forty years, our actual possessions formed a protecting shell round the less solid coagulations of the great native states. Some of these, Hyderabad for instance and Oudh and many chieftainships of Rajputana, had been states before we came to India: but a very large number, especially in the Mahratta country, were creations of our own. When a ruler died, his offspring naturally succeeded: but if, as often happened, he had no direct descendants, the custom of India,

The question of adoption.

handed down for centuries, was clear as to what followed. To supply the lack of heirs he might at any time before death adopt any one he pleased, and the adopted son inherited without a doubt the whole of his private property: but the throne he did not inherit, unless the paramount Power had consented to his adoption. Territory thus left kingless passed directly into the hands of the paramount Power, which could appoint a new ruler or take over the control itself as might seem best.

The British Government had been unsystematic in its use of this power. Some districts had been absorbed, others had been again and again handed to natives of its own selection. But the scandal of native rule was becoming unbearable. Left to themselves,

Native states very badly governed.

the Rajas and Nawabs would have been treated with a kind of rough justice: the strong men would have founded dynasties, their weaker successors

would have been ousted by their prime ministers (as among the Mahrattas) or their generals (as in Mysore). British supremacy, however, had altered all that. Safe behind the guarantee of quiet possession which we gave to all chiefs within our boundary, ruler after ruler gave himself up to luxurious living and the vilest oppression of his subjects. In Nagpur the Raja "lived and died a seller of justice, a drunkard, a debauchee." The Nawab of Oudh was, if possible, more barbarous and more licentious. The Nizam was not much better. And the minor princes copied faithfully the vices of their greater exemplars.

Dalhousie saw at once the disease and its remedy. The law about adoption was a weapon with which he could fight this evil, and prove to the world that we were the protectors of the Indian peoples, not of their rulers only. In state after state, as the succession fell vacant, he claimed the rights of the paramount Power: and so marked an improvement followed on annexation that one prince at least refused to adopt at all, in order that his people might pass under British rule. Among many smaller districts the important kingdom of Nagpur passed under this law into the hands of the British Government.

Dependent native states annexed as they fall in:

Satara in 1849,

Sambalpur in 1851,

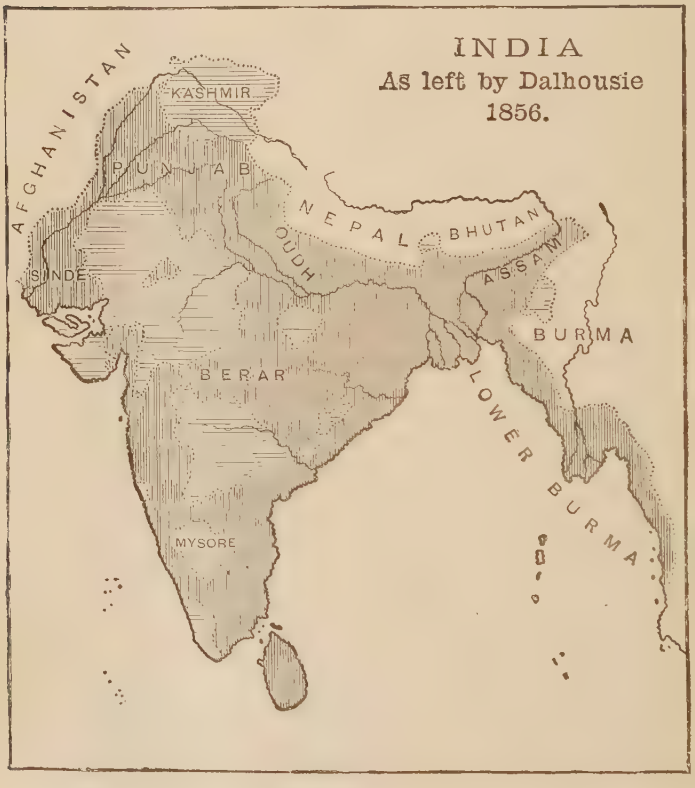
Jhansi in 1853,

Nagpur in 1854.

The sovereign states were differently treated. Nothing endangers the value of a good principle like straining it, and Dalhousie was the last to commit that mistake. Wherever in such cases a failure of heirs seemed probable, every encouragement was given to the reigning power to adopt the most promising of his relatives: and if no adoption was made, still a new native ruler was appointed. But flagrant misgovernment was dealt with as it deserved.

But sovereign states are not annexed,

The Nizam, whose faults were rather of waste than of cruelty, had been warned in 1843 and in 1849: in 1853, being still spendthrift and impenitent, he was forced to cede the Berar districts in lieu of pay for his subsidiary



troops, on condition that any surplus revenue should be paid over to him. The King of Oudh, the most abandoned of all native potentates, was treated with

more severity. Four times* within the last twenty years warning had been given that if there was any more anarchy and misrule the British government would take over the kingdom. Every warning had been unheeded. Dalhousie gave him five years more, and then proposed his removal from all share in the government of his kingdom. The home authorities were sterner still: neither power nor the emptiest shadow of authority must be left him: and almost the last act of Dalhousie's administration was to depose the miserable tyrant and add Oudh to the Indian Empire.

except Oudh, whose king's rule was disgracefully bad.

Oudh annexed, Feb. 7, 1856.

But in so enlarging this Empire, Dalhousie had completely altered its character. As he had taken it over, it was a chain of scattered territories mainly bordering on the sea, and all defensible therefrom. Buffer states of more or less strength divided it from Russia on the north-west and China on the north-east: and no other land-power in Asia was strong enough to undertake an invasion. As he left it, it was a much more solid mass of territory, much of which was a thousand miles from the sea-coast: Russia was one remove nearer, China was on our Burmese border. The centre of gravity had passed from Bengal to Delhi. But the mass needed binding together: and Dalhousie set himself to do it. He had been President of the Board of Trade in England, and had seen the sudden expansion of the English railway systems: there was the instrument ready to his hand. What he had done in the Punjab he set himself to do all over India. With roads and canals he opened up the inland districts. He freed the ports, surveyed the coasts, and

These changes consolidate India.

Opening of the Ganges Canal, Apr. 8, 1854.

* In 1831, 1837, 1847, and 1849.

improved the harbours of the long coast-line. He
1854. built the first railways, and laid down the plan on which all railway-making in the Peninsula has
1854. since proceeded. He established cheap postage,
1853. and threaded India across and across with telegraph wires. And while new engineering schools arose to train the men who should work out his plans, he found time to encourage and to back with all his power and influence the man who created India's gigantic system of modern education.

Such a man, so indefatigable, so resourceful, was the wisest of all Indian rulers, the second founder of our Empire there. The child cost its parent's life; but though he lies buried in Scotland, his abiding memorial is oversea. "*Si monumentum quæris, circumspice*" might be written on the Simla hills: our India of to-day commemorates the genius and the greatness of Dalhousie.

G. The Mutiny.

Not yet, however, was peace fully come to this land of many wars. Between the Company's India, with its "Brahminized" officials and restless feudatories, and the strong coherent British India of to-day there stands the horror of the Great Mutiny. The East breeds tigers as well as elephants: the Mutiny was the tiger's last fierce leap at his hunters, when his claws strike deep in the howdah that carries them. For many hundred years India had been dominated by armed forces for the benefit of their leaders; it had been the prey of rival conquerors and contending religions. British rule had disarmed the rivals, and was extending to all religions that toleration which

Lord Canning. Governor-General, 1856-62.

The tiger's last leap.

each sect claims as its own right and grudges as a concession to others. But this had been done by the help of another armed force, mainly native: and the weapon we had forged was now to be turned against us by the powers we had subdued.

The Indian Empire of Britain, it has been said already, resembles in many ways the Empire of Rome. It is a commonplace in Roman history that empire-making ruined the Republic: the standing armies that conquered Spain and Gaul and Asia Minor and Syria chafed under civilian rule, and in the end made their generals masters of Rome. To such a temper the Sepoy troops in India had come during Dalhousie's administration.* They had been during the last ten years victorious over Afghans, Báluchs, Sikhs, and Burmese: they had fought side by side with the best regiments of the British army, and had not suffered in the comparison. They were puffed up with pride, and ready on any excuse to assert their strength. And among them, in the later days of the great Marquess, came intriguers who represented the two most famous names of the days before Clive and Wellesley. From Delhi the sons of the last† Mogul emperor passed to and fro among the Mohammedans of the Company's

The danger of a victorious mercenary army.

The intrigues of Mogul.

* Dalhousie's last act in Council was to lay on the table a series of nine Minutes on the Army, which advocated (*a*) a reduction of the Sepoy troops by 14,000; (*b*) an augmentation of the British force by six battalions; (*c*) an increase in the Gurkha and Punjab irregular battalions; (*d*) stronger British artillery; (*e*) two more lieutenants to every regiment; (*f*) a separate Army Service Corps.

The Indian Army in 1808 consisted of 24,000 European troops and 154,000 Sepoys; in 1856 consisted of 39,000 European troops (with 276 guns) and 320,000 Sepoys (with 248 guns). In 1898 the European troops numbered 76,000, with 88 batteries: the Sepoys were 143,000, with 10 batteries.

† It was known that he would be the last. The home authorities had agreed to Dalhousie's proposal that the family should be removed from Delhi; and the emperor's successor would have been only a Shahzada, or Crown Prince.

army: and Mahratta pretenders. from Bithur Nana Sahib, the adopted son of the last Peshwa, furious because a pension of £80,000 had lapsed at the Peshwa's death, sent out emissaries over Central India, reminding his Hindu co-religionists of the glories of the Mahratta confederacy. Then Oudh was annexed, and the processes of survey and settlement began. The ryots, ground down under the vile rule of the deposed king, found themselves reinstated as landowners; the talukdars, who during that time of oppression had made themselves masters of the land they taxed, began to feel their gains slipping from them. Oudh was the principal recruiting-ground of the Sepoy army, and the recruits were mostly relatives of the talukdar class. From Peshawur to Calcutta their leaders determined on revolt.

The ferment in Oudh.

They went cannily to work. The whole native army must be brought into the plot, and given some more practical motive for mutiny than the glories of their ancestors or the grievances of the Oudh aristocracy. The non-fighting population must be won over if possible, or at least terrified into quiescence. So religion was utilized, and the Eastern belief in omens. Tales of a wonderful prophecy spread through India: the stars had declared that the Company's raj should cease after a hundred years, and the centenary of Plassey was close at hand. Moreover, it was time for the people to rise, if they would not all be made Christians: the railroads and the telegraph wires were magical chains to bind the country, and enforce a general baptism. With such talk the ryots were kept expectant and uneasy: for soldiers there was worse news. To compel them

The conspirators work on the superstitions of their countrymen.

The "hundred years" prophecy.

Compulsory Christianity.

to Christianity the English had cunningly devised a plan by which every Hindu Sepoy would lose caste, every Mohammedan become impure: the new cartridges were greased with a mixture of cows' and pigs' fat,* so that both religions would be simultaneously violated. Furthermore—and this was Nana Sahib's special argument—the English nation was in sore straits at home. His agent had been to the Crimea during the Russian war, and brought back tales of British losses and sufferings; two regiments of white troops had been moved from India to the Crimea, and five were away in Persia (whose Shah was calling on all Mohammedans to rise against England), while a Chinese war called for more. Everything, said the plotters, called for instant action: they could save their yet unpolluted caste, regain for their friends their confiscated property, and rushing against a weakened and divided enemy, with the might of prophecy to strengthen them, thrust the intruding English back into the sea from which they had come.

The greased cartridges.

Rumours from the Crimean war.

War with Persia, 1856-7.

But it is hard in any conspiracy to make sure that every one shall do his part at the same moment: with Sepoy conspirators, scattered over a million square miles of country, the task is impossible. Mutiny began close to Calcutta: the mutinous regiment was disbanded, and every ex-private became a sower of sedition along his way home to Oudh. Then came the news that at Meerut, the headquarters of the whole native army, men had refused even unobjectionable cartridges. They were imprisoned: their comrades rose, shot down their white officers, released the prisoners,

The plot foiled by premature risings.

Mutiny at Barrackpur, Mar. 29, 1857:

at Meerut, May 10:

* This was unfortunately a fact (though the alleged motive was of course non-existent), and the denial of it in all good faith by British officers shook the native trust in our honour.

and marched off to Delhi, where they fetched out the old Mogul emperor and proclaimed him once more Lord of India. Three native regiments at Delhi joined them, and the townfolk turned to the work of massacring Europeans. The Great Mutiny had begun.

at Delhi, May 11.

The Meerut Sepoys had broken out too early, but their comrades followed them at once. All over the North-West Provinces native regiments shot their officers and marched to Delhi,* and more poured in from stations in Bundelkhand, south of the Jumna. The Oudh talukdars called their retainers together and joined the rebellion, and the regiments there rose to meet them. Troops from Gwalior came in, in spite of Sindhia's loyalty, and some marched half across Rajputana from our isolated domain of Ajmere. The Europeans were driven for refuge into three fortified positions—the fort at Agra, weak entrenchments at Cawnpore, and the British Residency at Lucknow in Oudh. All else between the Punjab and Bengal was a chaos of massacre and anarchy.

Oudh rises, May 30.

But the Meerut Sepoys had after all saved India. Quickly as news flies in that country, the telegraph wires had outstripped it, and warned every officer in the Punjab that mutiny had begun. The Punjab garrisons were part of the regular native army—not Sikhs—and were implicated in the conspiracy: but when those surprised and unready troops tried to imitate their comrades of the Ganges valley, they found themselves faced by British regiments and cannon, and were forced to disarm at once. One or two bodies at isolated stations broke away towards Delhi: but their British officers promptly raised Sikh levies and cut the rebels to pieces. And then this newly-won province proved worthy of its conqueror's care. So loyal were

But the Punjab is kept under control.

Sepoys there disarmed, May 12-15.

John Nicholson.

* This attraction to Delhi often weakened the mutineers, by drawing rebels from districts where lack of opposition would have made them a serious danger.

the Sikhs, so true to the rulers they trusted, so eager to help in the crushing of this revolt, that John Lawrence was able to send down regiment after regiment of British, levy after levy of Sikh warriors, battery after battery of artillery, to where on the ridges north of Delhi the British commander threatened the treacherous city. For three months we hung there, immovable against attack, gathering our forces for a decisive blow: then by a week of battery and six days of desperate street fighting Delhi was won, and the Mutiny as an organized rebellion ceased to exist.

Siege of Delhi, June 8 to Sept. 13.

Taking of Delhi, Sept. 14-19.

Much, however, had happened during the long delay. Three main motives, it will be remembered, had inspired the rebellion—Mogul influence, Mahratta influence, and the complaints of the Oudh aristocracy. Delhi was the Mogul centre: the hopes of the Mahratta rebels were centred in Nana Sahib. When regiment after regiment set out towards Delhi, he caught the Cawnpore troops and brought them back to besiege the fort they had abandoned. After three weeks the little garrison, encumbered with women and children, surrendered on a promise of safe conduct to Allahabad: the Nana provided boats for their transport, and as they embarked opened a fire on them which killed nearly every man in the party, while the 122 women and children who survived were imprisoned and kept for a worse fate.

Cawnpore rises, June 5.

Surrender and massacre of the Cawnpore garrison, June 27.

Meanwhile from Bengal the Governor-General, Lord Canning, was sending up regiments as fast as possible to the revolted districts. But he had twice the distance to send them, and very few were at hand: most had to be fetched from Burma and Madras and even Bombay—for in the Deccan Presidencies there was hardly a sign of mutiny. At last,

The advance from Bengal.

however, a column under Havelock moved upon Cawnpore, and in two sharp fights broke the Nana's forces: but fast as he fled he could still spare time for more slaughter, and the rescuing troops found no English women alive in prison, but only gashed and tortured bodies thrown hurriedly into a deep well. In calmer days men have condemned the ferocity with which our troops flung themselves, giving no quarter, upon the defeated mutineers: but calm and mildness was difficult to those who had seen the well at Cawnpore.

Second Cawnpore massacre, July 16.

Havelock had no time to spare for pity. Thirty-six miles away another British garrison was desperately defending the Residency at Lucknow. His second attempt to force his way through the besieging army was successful; but the rebels simply shut him in with the other defenders, and went on with the siege. He had, however, left troops enough to hold Cawnpore: and by this time Delhi was taken, and a detachment of the victorious troops marched thence upon Cawnpore also, relieving Agra by the way. So that by the middle of October the rebellion was cut in half, and British armies held the line of the Ganges from end to end. A new commander-in-chief, Sir Colin Campbell, had arrived from England with twenty thousand fresh troops at his back. The two halves of the rebellion were forced further and further asunder. Sir Colin Campbell himself headed the army that first rescued the Lucknow garrison, and later on stormed the city and hammered the Oudh Sepoys into submission. The Mahratta Sepoys, strengthened for a time by a mutiny among Sindhia's troops and the accession of the army of Jhansi under its fierce princess, were a second time

Siege of Residency begins, July 1.

First relief, Sept. 25.

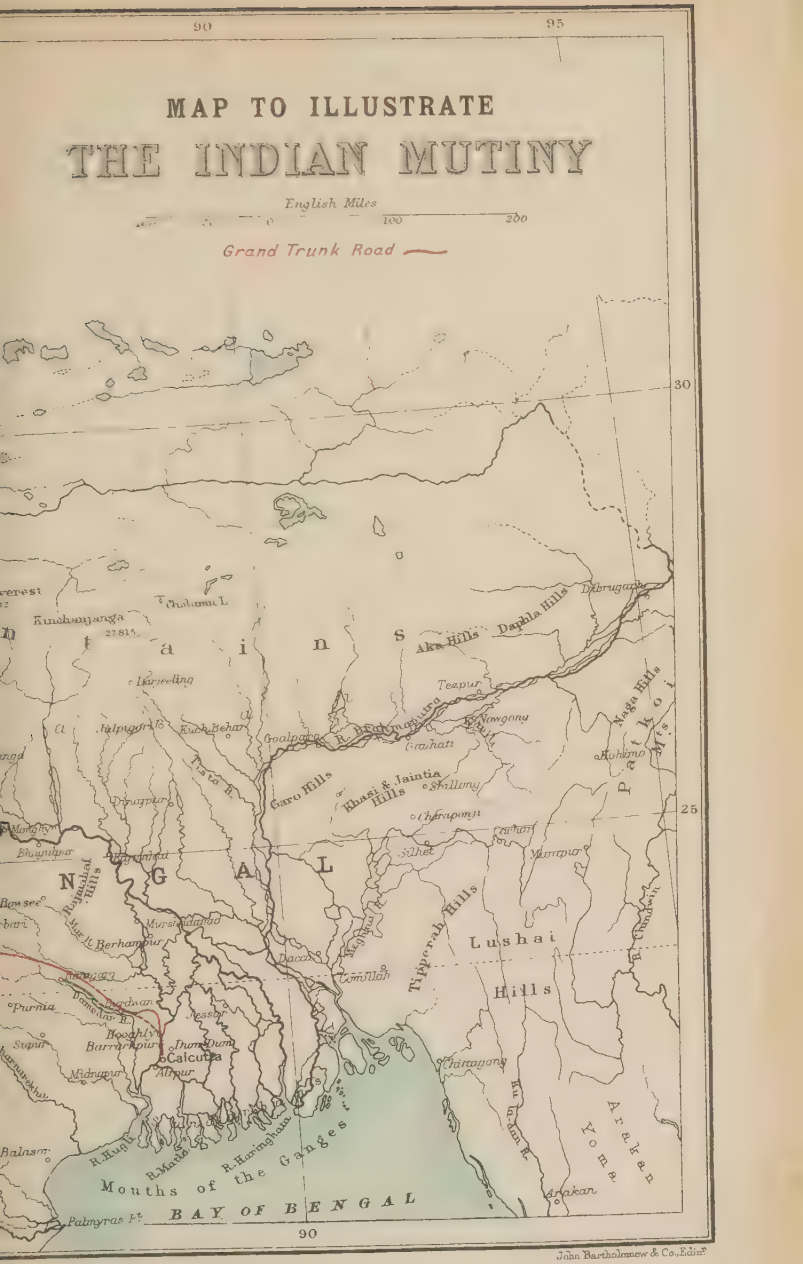
Relief of Agra, Oct. 10.

Second relief of Lucknow, Nov. 17.

The city stormed, Mar. 9-20, 1858.

Dec. 6, 1857.

MAP TO ILLUSTRATE
THE INDIAN MUTINY



John Bartholomew & Co., Edinr.

routed near Cawnpore, and scattered over the native states of Central India: and Sir Hugh Rose, flashing like a thunderbolt from fortress to fortress, destroyed throughout that rugged country the last vestiges of resistance. Some few fled northwards across the Nepal border, and found the Gurkhas as pitiless to them in their own country as they had been in our avenging armies. The Great Mutiny was over.

Rose's campaign in Central India, Jan.-June, 1858.

It was a high price to pay—but to the Mutiny Britain owes two splendid assurances. We know, for one thing, that the breed has not failed. The names that we know best of the Mutiny heroes —Havelock, Nicholson, Outram, Lawrence, Kavanagh—are after all only types of a thousand others. Over a million square miles of country white men were scattered, a few here, a few there, isolated among rebels or would-be rebels: and every station had its list of brave men, whom Britain in 1856 knew as promising officers, and in 1858 as heroes. If ever such a stress is laid on the Empire again, we may be no less sure that the heroism is there.*

The lessons of the Mutiny.

And we know one thing more, less stirring perhaps but more valuable. We know that before the Mutiny began we had conquered India, not by arms alone, but by force of fine government. For the Mutiny was not an Indian Mutiny at all: it was a mutiny of Ganges Valley Sepoys, the representatives of an old military aristocracy. They caught us at a disadvantage: they were successful enough at first to give every disaffected native throughout the Peninsula a chance of joining the revolt. And yet the mutineers were strictly left to

* This was written in 1897: the assurance has been confirmed many times since then, and by men of Greater Britain also.

themselves. Apart from the retainers of the Oudh nobles, their own countrymen let them pass through in a terrified but hostile silence. We put down the Mutiny, as we had conquered the country, with the encouragement and the help of the native states. Sindhia, though his men mutinied at last, yet held them quiet till the greatest danger was over. Our old foe Dost Mohammed in the north-west stood by his treaties when the fanatics of Kabul were furious for a dash at Peshawur. From Hyderabad the same news came—the mollahs preached, but the State stood firm, and the Hyderabad Contingent did splendid service with Sir Hugh Rose. The Nepalese army came pounding down through Oudh to the storm of Lucknow: "Jang Bahadur would be driven wild," wrote Lord Canning, "to find himself deprived of a share in the work." And so India is ours to-day because it has wished to be ours.

The mass of the natives was on our side.

The air was clear after the storm, and men could think out problems of state with minds unclouded by the prejudices of the past. Then we saw the cumbrous complications of the old *régime* in India—the dead hand of the East India Company moved, marionette-like, by a half-hidden Board of Control. It had been a drama—with a tragic fifth act—in which the prompter's voice was too much heard. But now all the pretence was swept away. The stars had given the Company a hundred years of rule: they were only sixteen months out, for on November 1, 1858, the Queen's proclamation was issued at Allahabad. Due in part to the Queen's own initiative, it nobly summed up the noblest aspect of British dominion. Absolute religious toleration: the maintenance of all existing rights and treaties: a law which should be the righteous development of

The East India Company disappears.

India comes under the Crown.

ancient usage: administration by the best men without fear or favour: justice on murderers, and an amnesty to all others who had been misled by ambitious princes —this was the message of Britain to its Indian Empire. And if assurance were needed that such a message was not empty words, it was given when the last Governor-General of the Company became the first Viceroy of the Queen.

A notable Frenchman* lately characterized the British quality as "firm shoulders ready to stand the weight of great responsibility." Lord Canning was just such a Briton. The ghastliness of the Mutiny drove men blood-mad; against the fiends who surrounded Nana Sahib no measures seemed too brutal: and no one who did not see Cawnpore and its victims has a right to condemn the avengers of Cawnpore. But it was well for Britain—for the Empire and for the nation—that behind the avengers there sat the judge. Unmoved, outwardly at least, in the days of stormiest excitement, Canning is among modern Englishmen pre-eminently the great Roman type of the *Justum et tenacem propositi virum:* nor can there be in the wildest days to come a surer law for our rulers than words he wrote in the perilous year:—

The first Viceroy.

"I will not govern in anger. Justice, and that as stern, as inflexible as law and might can make it, I will deal out. But I will never allow an angry and undiscriminating act or word to proceed from the Government of India as long as I am responsible for it."

* M. Alphonse Daudet.

CHAPTER VI

AUSTRALASIA

A. Early Discoveries.

From the earliest ages there were rumours among the northern nations of a great southern continent that balanced Asia as Africa balances Europe, and not impossibly stretched itself below the Indian Ocean so as to make a greater Mediterranean in the eastern half of the known world. But the only sea-faring Asiatic nations whose records have come down to us lived in the north-western corner of that ocean: and as their powers of navigation were confined to following coast lines, and open-sea voyages were an unknown thing, they usually felt themselves quite far enough away from home when they reached Java and Borneo. In 1493, when the unexplored world was divided by the Pope between Spain and Portugal, this southern continent was still a dream of theoretical geographers.

The myths of ancient geography.

Not for long now, however. The Portuguese were slow explorers, but persistent ones. By 1526 they had reached New Guinea, and seem shortly after to have worked their way down the eastern coast of Australia as far as Cape Howe. But in doing so they had passed the Pope's line, which had been for convenience sake extended into the waters of the Pacific, and became there approximately the

The Pope's line crossed by Portugal

meridian of 147° E.* The Spaniards, too, had begun to push westward from Peru, and in 1521 Magellan's expedition occupied the Philippines in their name, although this was an encroachment on the Portuguese sphere. Consequently the Portuguese took special precautions to keep their southern discovery a secret: they not only refused, as all nations did in those days, to let any other nation see their maps, but, as far as can be made out, they cleverly altered the maps themselves so as to bring the new coast-line into quite a wrong position within their own sphere, while leaving it possible for their own ships to use the altered maps with safety. And their scheme was so successful that for quite a hundred and fifty years no other explorers came where they had been.

and by Spain.

The Portuguese conceal their trespass cleverly.

It was not for want of trying. Time after time Spanish ships came blindly across the Pacific, lighting now upon the Solomon Islands, now upon the Marquesas, at last upon the New Hebrides: and from these in 1606 Torres took a fresh start towards the *Terra Australis* which was the aim of all this search. He missed it by the merest chance. He got among the islands which lie so thick between New Guinea and Cape York, and he was tired of islands; he had, in fact, just gained a reputation by proving that one of the New Hebrides, rashly assumed by his former leader, de Quir, to be part of *Terra Australis*, was an island after all: and he was determined not to be taken in himself by any more islands masquerading as continents. So, though he worked down past Cape York into the shallows of the Barrier

Discoveries of Mendana in 1568 and in 1595: of de Quir in 1606.

* By the treaty of Saragossa (April 15, 1529) the line in the Pacific was fixed 297 leagues east of the Moluccas. A mere continuation of the Tordesillas line would have fixed it at about 135° E.

Reef, he never knew that the real continent was in front of him, but sailed away north-west through Torres Straits to add one more misconception to European ideas about Australia.

By this time the Dutch had occupied nearly the whole colonial empire of Portugal in the East Indies, and were working cautiously down from Java towards the same goal as Torres; and while he was sailing through straits which he thought were open ocean, a Dutch ship was carefully avoiding those same straits under the impression that they were dry land. Further and further the *Duyfken* sailed into the Gulf of Carpentaria, in an attempt to round what seemed to be the southern point of New Guinea; and when the shallowing water made it turn back, it took home a report that New Guinea and *Terra Australis* were all one, and that future explorers must go south-west, as the eastern passage was blocked. But explorers the Dutch were not: their business was to trade profitably, and what they heard of the southern lands was not encouraging. Ship after ship, however, on its way from Holland to Java, was driven out of its course on to the western coast of Australia until the whole outline of it from Port Darwin to Spencer Gulf had been charted: and still the eastern and more colonizable districts remained unknown. At last in 1642 Antony van Diemen, governor of Dutch Malaysia, sent out a noted voyager, Abel Tasman, to find what he might in the unknown south. But he had no better luck than Torres or the crew of the *Duyfken*: he thrust his ship well down into the "roaring forties," and came full upon the west coast of Tasmania, round which he coasted for some way before continuing eastward to New Zealand:

Dutch exploration.

The *Duyfken*, 1606.

Hartog, 1616. Edels, 1619. The *Leeuwin*, 1622. Pelsart, 1628.

Tasman, 1642. Discovers Tasmania, Nov. 24, and New Zealand, Dec. 9.

To face page 228.

there, taking the wide western mouth of Cook Strait for a bay (a mistake to which the Dutch seem to have been peculiarly prone) he followed up the curve of the North Island, struck across to Fiji, and so returned to Batavia round the north coast of New Guinea. Even so he had discovered two fertile lands that were well suited for settlement: but the fierceness of the Maoris and supposed gigantic size of the Tasmanian natives deterred him from exploration, while the Dutch authorities found work enough on their hands in developing their tropical colonies, and had no wish to open up new lands where other nations might settle. In 1644, however, they sent Tasman on one more attempt to find the passage between New Guinea and the "Great South Land": and this time he sailed straight across the western opening of Torres Strait, thinking that its reefs were the sure sign of continuous land behind them.

Dampier sights New Holland, Jan. 4, 1688.

Forty-four years later the first Englishman, William Dampier, set foot on Australian shores, coming down past Timor from the Moluccas. His opinion of the country was anything but complimentary, coming as he did from lands of spice to a land of waterless sand: and as for the natives—"the Hodmadods* of Monomatapa, though a nasty people, yet for wealth are gentlemen to these." Nevertheless, when he reached England he could not rest till a ship (the *Roebuck*) was given him to make further explorations in the new country. But the second view of it was no more appetizing than the first: he coasted western Australia for nearly a thousand miles without result, and finally bore away northwards to the delightful tropical islands whose beauty and wealth were unquestioned.

The *Roebuck* at Shark's Bay, Aug 6, 1699.

* Hottentots.

The net result of all these voyages is rather curious. While at one point New Guinea was falsely supposed to extend nearly ten degrees too far south, everywhere else the explorers had found themselves among islands, or on a coast-line studded with islets. Also the older maps, demonstrably wrong (for those who did not possess the key to their distortion) in their northern outline of *Terra Australis*, yet agreed with theoretical geographers in marking a great continent stretching up from South Polar regions. Consequently an idea began to spread that this last was the real South Land, and that over what we now know to be the mainland of Australia there was spread an assemblage of islands something like the Malay Archipelago. Accordingly when in 1768 Lieutenant James Cook was appointed to the ship *Endeavour*, with instructions to take out to Tahiti a party of scientific men to observe the transit of Venus, he was further ordered on his way home to make search for this continent, of which it was thought probable that New Zealand was a northern promontory. By dint of sailing round and round the two islands he discovered their real nature and shape, and then set off westward to look into Tasman's other discovery. Keeping still well to the south, he all but ran into Tasmania (and if he had done that, it is quite possible that he would have simply followed back Tasman's track and missed Australia altogether); but a strong southern gale drove him out of the course he had set for himself, and brought him in sight of the continent's south-eastern corner. His mind was made up at once: he knew from Tasman's work that there was open sea not far south—the point that wanted clearing up was, "Is there mainland or island-studded sea to the north?" He turned northward at once to coast along

More myths.

Cook's first voyage, 1768-1771.

The *Endeavour* off Point Hicks, April 19, 1770;

this new shore till he could find a break in it. At Botany Bay he anchored to explore the country, and received reports that along George's River (which flows into the bay) there had been seen splendid pasture for cattle. Further and further north went the *Endeavour*, sometimes in great danger from the coral reefs of the Queensland coast, until Cook rounded Cape York and made certain that he was now at the end of his huge island, and could pass between it and New Guinea. Then, on August 21, 1770, he landed on one of the Torres Strait islands, and formally took possession of the new land from one end to the other on behalf of Britain.

in Botany Bay, Apr. 28 to May 6.

The country annexed to Britain, Aug. 21.

B. The Convict Settlement.

Cook's discovery made at the moment a great stir in England; but scientific men were still hankering after that mysterious South Land, and when he came out again his time was spent in a futile search through the waters south and east of Tasmania. Then came the revolt of the American colonies, and Englishmen had quite enough to think about for some years without troubling themselves with strange lands twelve thousand miles off. But there was one result of the American war which brought men's minds back to England's latest acquisition. The English gaols were full to overflowing, and no one knew what to do with the surplus of prisoners.

Cook's second voyage, 1773.

War of American Independence, 1775-83.

It was the Portuguese who first thought of utilizing their criminals to work in their colonies; but by the time of Charles I. the English had adopted the idea pretty thoroughly. At first a convict, if sentenced to death, had his choice: he could

The beginnings of transportation.

either go to Virginia as an "indented labourer," or he could stay in England and be hanged. But during the Civil War Charles shipped off some Roundheads willy-nilly; Cromwell retaliated with shiploads of Cavaliers; and from the reign of Charles II. onward the practice was systematized and regulated by Acts of Parliament. At the outbreak of war the American colonies were disposing of about 500 convicts *per annum*, and the war of course stopped this outlet altogether: while the leaders of the philanthropic movement, which was just gathering head, roused the British public to a sense of the inhuman treatment dealt out to prisoners in their over-crowded gaols.

Transportation to America ceases.

John Howard.

The Government was in a dilemma. The criminal law of those days was very severe, and every assize added a fresh batch of transportable convicts to the accumulating mass, while there was still no place fixed to which they might be transported. Parliament in 1779 discussed the question, and Botany Bay was suggested as convenient by Joseph Banks, a wealthy man of science who had accompanied Cook in 1769-70, and to the end of his life took active interest in the welfare of the countries then discovered. The matter was left to the Ministry of the day, and for some time they were content to shelve it. But in August, 1783, a fresh proposal, quite separate from the convict problem, was made to the Government by James Matra, who had been a member of the *Endeavour's* crew on its great voyage. This was for the establishment in New South Wales of a British colony on the old Carolinian* lines: the aristocracy was to be formed of loyalists† who had been recently expelled from the now United States—the

What is to be done with the convicts?

Matra's memorial for a free colony.

* See p. 33.

† See p. 123.

working class was to be a mixture of Kanakas and Chinese, superintended by a few skilled Englishmen, preferably sailors,* from the ships that brought Australia its new population.

Government protection was necessary, or the French (who had already been busy with explorations in the South Seas) might swoop down and annex the infant colony: and the price of Government support was the admission of convicts. The promoters agreed to this—and still the Ministry delayed. The promoters put their scheme before the public: but the Ministry wanted a place nearer home, and had surveys made all down the West African coast from Angola to the Cape—the Gambia scheme had been abandoned as too unhealthy. When at last the surveying ship returned with adverse reports, the long-delayed step was taken: and a little more than sixteen years after Cook's annexation an Order-in-Council proclaimed that the new convict settlement would be at Botany Bay. Charles Townshend had lost us our American colonies: his cousin, to repair the loss, occupied Australia.

Convicts the price of Government aid.

The Order-in-Council, Dec. 6, 1786.

It took nine months to get the expedition ready, and eight more to fetch it overseas to its new home. The commander in charge, Captain Arthur Phillip, had fought as a boy through the Seven Years' War, and made himself a gallant reputation in the succeeding war with France. He was now to show that he could rule as well as he fought. The work before him was certainly unique. The convicts who went to America had been distributed among an already existing population of civilized settlers in a land where food was plentiful, where roads

The First Fleet sails, May 13, 1787.

Arthur Phillip, Governor, Jan. 1788 to Dec. 1792.

* The press-gang forced plenty of young artisans and farmers to become sailors.

were made, where law reigned. In the new colony food must come twelve thousand miles until the work of unskilful hands dragged some from the none too fertile soil: outside the camp itself the country was unknown: law, such as it was, had to be enforced every moment at the point of the bayonet. Free settlers there were none: the Loyalist-Kanaka-Chinese scheme had disappeared, and not many free Englishmen were anxious to tempt fortune at the other end of the world in company with prisoners and their keepers. To so order things that in spite of these unsavoury surroundings the colony should nevertheless become a desirable place for free emigrants: to keep the settlement together till their advent, famine, drunkenness, and riots notwithstanding: this was Phillip's work, and in doing it so well he proved himself in the truest sense the founder of an Australian nation.

No sooner had he entered Botany Bay than its unfitness for the site of a settlement became very apparent. Four days after arriving he took boats round to the next inlet noticed by Cook, and was the first (of how many millions since?) to describe Port Jackson as the "finest harbour in the world." A running stream falling into deep water at the head of one of its bays decided him to fix the town there; the ships were brought round from Botany Bay to the newly-named Sydney Cove, and on January 26, 1788, formal possession was taken, the colony being proclaimed as such twelve days later.

Phillip lands in Botany Bay, Jan. 18, 1788:

but transfers the settlement to Sydney Cove, Jan. 26.

Nominally it was a huge one. It ran from Cape York southerly to the extreme point of Tasmania, and its western boundary (135° E. long.) included the whole coast of Carpentaria and nearly the whole of inhabitable South Australia. East-

Boundaries of the new colony.

wards the border was somewhat undefined. "All the *adjacent* islands," said the proclamation, "within the same degrees of latitude"; and no one quite knew how far away adjacent islands can be. Governor King, at least, considered Tahiti as one of them, and appointed a magistrate there.* But the expression was at a later date interpreted not to include New Zealand. One island, luckily, it did include, to which Phillip at once sent a party of occupation. The native flax of Norfolk Island was already famous in England: and while Phillip hoped to make the settlement at Sydney supply its own food, he looked to the island for clothes.

It took some months to house the immigrants, and when at last they could turn their attention to raising crops the soil was found very poor. The supposed cattle pastures on George's River, which had told greatly in favour of New South Wales when the convict settlement question came up, were nowhere to be found. The Home authorities had sent out a farming expert who did nothing but get drunk, and it was only by good luck that a reliable one was discovered in the person of the Governor's butler. The truth was that the whole scheme had been designed to get the surplus convicts somewhere well away from England, and every request for more food or fewer convicts, or for anything, indeed, which gave trouble at home, was looked upon as importunity to be discouraged. England was during the first years of Australian colonization in the thick of her most desperate struggle with France: what time had Ministers to spare, they asked, for details of farming and clothing in a settlement of vagabonds

First difficulties.

* It is curious that Tasmania, not being adjacent to the *east* coast, was for a long time not included within the area of New South Wales criminal jurisdiction.

twelve thousand miles off? Phillip asked for intelligent farmers, and they sent him female convicts: Hunter persisted in the request, and he got all sorts of idle speculators. To get a mill erected, he had to apply to "an ingenious Irish convict," for the Government millwright knew nothing about his business.

Famines.

Consequently famine for many years stared the settlers in the face. Supply-ships were wrecked or delayed: nearly all the cattle were lost within five months of landing,* and out of seventy sheep sixty-nine had died: from November of 1789 to July of 1792 the weekly rations were reduced to a minimum, and in the next year the trouble began again. Norfolk Island, only saved in 1790 by the sudden arrival of flocks of mutton-birds, soon became the granary of the colony. At Rosehill and Prospect Phillip marked out some fifty-acre farms, and retired Marines (from the military guard of the First Fleet) took up land in the Field of Mars: in 1794 the Hawkesbury valley was settled, and by 1801 attempts were being made to grow cotton at Castle Hill and vines at Parramatta. But of all these districts only the Hawkesbury farms were really fertile, and they suffered badly from floods. Even as late as 1807 New South Wales was half starved, and had to look for help to supplies of rice from China.

Exploration

One can imagine how eagerly men in these straits would explore the unknown lands that closely encircled them, in the hope of finding richer soil and ampler pasturage. One's imagination would, unfortunately, be at fault. During the early years inland exploration was practically at a standstill. Phillip in four years got no further west than the Hawkesbury; Hunter penetrated south-west a little beyond the Nepean. But

* They were discovered six years later in the Camden district, a much increased herd, and were strictly protected as State property.

for twenty years the settlement was a convict settlement and nothing more—or if more, then more only in spite of its rulers. The Governors were naval men, put in office as good disciplinarians, and afraid to enlarge the bounds of their jurisdiction too much lest their subjects should get out of hand. When a convict in 1799 came back to Sydney with stories of a pass through the mountains to the south-west and a large river beyond, his tale was pooh-poohed. Just before this the same governor had discouraged a proposal made by Banks to send out the great African explorer, Mungo Park: though, with grim humour, he despatched two parties of convicts north and south into the bush—to convince them that running away into such poor country was useless. The Blue Mountain barrier, only thirty miles from headquarters, was attacked time and again by private enterprise without result. In 1810 the colony was still practically limited to the county of Cumberland, with a penal settlement on the Hunter, and a few distant dependencies that could only be reached by sea.

discouraged inland;

In that direction the escape of convicts could be controlled, and the naval governors were not averse to encouraging men of their own profession. From 1797 onwards exploration along the coasts became very important. That year saw the discovery of the Hunter estuary to the north, and the daring southward voyage of Bass in an open boat, which assured him that there was a channel between Tasmania and the mainland. Flinders, an old comrade of his, had meanwhile been surveying carefully the coast nearer Sydney; and in 1798 the two set off for a voyage right through Bass Strait (noting on their way the estuary of the Tamar), worked down the west coast of Tasmania, surveyed the bays where

encouraged along the coast.

Hobart now lies, and returned triumphantly with the news that soon gave Britain a new colony. A year later Flinders (for Bass now drops out of Australian history) explored the southern Queensland coast and the river on which Brisbane lies: but for the moment his most valued discovery was that whales were to be found along that coast, just as the year before it had been the seal fisheries of Bass Straits. However, in a few years the situation changed: Napoleon had taken advantage of the Peace of Amiens to send out an exploring expedition under Admiral Baudin, and Governor King found it advisable to occupy beforehand such likely colony-sites as were known. He therefore in 1803 arranged for the despatch of a party to Port Phillip, which had been discovered in 1800: but Collins, who was in command of it, saw no possibilities in those low-lying shores, and yearned after the delightful variety of the neighbour island, where another party had already occupied the Derwent mouth. So the next year he abandoned Port Phillip altogether and moved to the Derwent, where he established the settlement of Hobart Town. The northern river, the Tamar, was at the same time occupied by Paterson, and two years later a permanent settlement was made at Launceston: the two towns were soon connected by a well-made road, and a large body of the settlers from Norfolk Island, which King had wished to abandon, were added to the Tasmanian population.

Baudin's expedition, 1802.

C. The New South Wales Corps.

In a colony of so peculiar a character discipline was the first requisite. The home authorities therefore

resolved to raise a new regiment for special service in New South Wales, and entrusted the task to Major Grose, who had experience in recruiting work. The arrangement was one not unusual in those days—Grose nominated the officers and received so much a head from Government for each private—but the circumstances made it an ideally bad arrangement. England was palpitating with the hope of another French war; this regiment was to be cut off from all such fighting, and to be sent across half the world to do gaolers' work. The officers who entered it, mostly transferred from other regiments, wanted profit rather than glory; for the romance of Indian treasure was still fresh in men's minds, and it was not convicts only whose ignorance of geography made China a near neighbour. As for the privates, Governor Hunter found among them men who had been disgraces to every other British regiment—and we know from the Duke of Wellington what material was used in those days to make up even his best troops. Not all the officers, of course, were hucksters, nor were all the privates blackguards; but in such surroundings as were theirs the worst element comes to the top, and the *corps* takes rank by its lowest members.

The New South Wales Corps

From its first arrival the new regiment was a thorn in the side of governor after governor. Grose complained that his soldiers had no better food than the convicts. "Nor have I," said Phillip, who was determined to favour no man in time of famine. The soldiers consorted with the men they had to guard, and roused more disturbances than they quelled. When Phillip left,* Grose became Acting-Governor, and at once removed

It reaches Sydney in 1790.

Grose, Acting-Governor. Dec. 1792-Dec. 1794.

* The home authorities delayed the appointment of a successor in hopes that Phillip could be induced to return.

all the restrictions which his wiser predecessor had placed on the sale of livestock by the poorer farmers. The officers had almost all the money then in the colony, and in a very short time they had formed a "Ring" which gave them complete control of trade; they fixed the price as well of imported goods as of the colony's produce, and at last drove King to debar them absolutely from all commercial pursuits. But this speculation in legitimate objects of trade was a mild evil compared to their traffic in liquor. The first settlers got food and clothing from headquarters; spirits came to them through private and generally illegal agencies. At one time two officers had 4400 gallons of rum in store, and grumbled at disposing of them for £1 a gallon. The establishment of the traffic must be charged against Grose's governorship, and both Hunter and King failed in their efforts to put it down, although they received all possible support from home. It was not only against the imported spirits that they had to contend. The farmers soon found that their wheat would bring three times the money when distilled that it would fetch as grain; and the edicts against private stills were even more severe and less effective than those against military rum-selling.

Paterson, A.-G., Dec. 1794 to Sept. 1795.

Rum-selling.

Hunter, Governor, Sept. 1795-Sept. 1800.

King, Governor, Sept. 1800-Aug. 1806.

Among the officers of this unruly Corps one has attained peculiar distinction. Captain John Macarthur was the *bête noir* of two governors and the triumphant enemy of a third; his insubordination was only equalled by his cleverness in thwarting every effort to punish him. Yet these mischievous qualities have been forgiven—nay, even looked upon as virtues—by a people for whom he is the founder of the greatest industry in New South Wales. His quick eye saw from the first that the country was one for large

John Macarthur,

estates and pastoral pursuits, and his quick temper could not brook the difficulties which more cautious disciplinarians put in his way. When Hunter would not give him room for the big sheep farm he wanted,* he went to England and memorialized the Government till he obtained a grant of 5000 acres. Then he came back triumphantly, having resigned his commission to turn pastoralist, and chose his land in what was known as the Cow-pastures, a district across the Nepean which had been strictly reserved by the authorities for the herd of State cattle. There and nowhere else within the confines of the settlement had he found pasture-land fit for the Spanish sheep which he had been the first to introduce; and it was this Spanish merino breed, jealously guarded in Spain, but found in small numbers at the Cape (where the Boer farmers thought poorly of it beside their own big fat-tailed flocks), on which he depended to make the colonial wool trade a lasting success.

the first of the sheep-breeders.

After much demur King, who sympathized a little with his projects, allotted him a portion of the jealously guarded reserve; but his successor, Bligh, was by no means of the same mind. He was a man of some experience in mutinies, and came out with a determination to put down with a strong hand the men who had ousted Hunter and driven King to resignation. The rum traffic must go; if necessary, the officers who supported it must be crushed; and Macarthur was in Bligh's eyes the leading villain of the band. He happened just then to be interested in wine-making, and imported a still for producing grape brandy; Bligh suspected (quite unnecessarily) that it was intended

Bligh unsympathetic.

Bligh, Governor, Aug. 1806-Jan. 1808.

* One can hardly wonder at it; at the time he had 1300 acres, with £4000 worth of stock—a monster estate among the pigmies of that day.

for rum-making, and confiscated it. Then a minor offence brought Macarthur under the jurisdiction of the Judge Advocate, an enemy of eleven years' standing. Macarthur appealed to his former comrades of the New South Wales Corps; but Bligh would listen to no compromise and appoint no substitute judge. Major Johnston, who, as commander of the regiment, was *ex officio* Lieutenant-Governor, at once arrested Bligh and all the civil officials; new magistrates were appointed, Macarthur was acquitted without trouble, and Bligh was imprisoned for a year and at last shipped for home.*

The Bligh mutiny, Jan. 26, 1808.

The triumph of the Corps was short. The English Government had been persuaded into deposing Governors, but would not stand bullying; and it replied to the violence of the insurgents by reinstating Bligh (formally only), cashiering Johnston, and recalling the troublesome regiment to scenes of greater danger and less profit. Macarthur was sent home, and found it wiser not to return to the colony for eight years.

The Corps abolished.

D. The Beginnings of Freedom.

It was a pity, for the next governor was a man to his mind. The real importance of the Bligh rebellion is this, that it caused a complete revolution in the treatment of the colony. Lachlan Macquarie, in some respects not unlike Bligh, was the first of a long line of real colonizers. His predecessors had opposed expansion because they were there to look after the convicts; Macquarie stimulated it in every possible way because he looked upon himself as a

Lachlan Macquarie, Governor, Jan. 1810-Dec. 1821.

* He did not go all the way, but waited in Tasmania for reinstatement.

governor of free men—at the worst, of men who soon would be free and should be helped to keep their freedom. New South Wales might be an ugly duckling, but he at least foresaw the future swan. He looked after his prisoners sharply, and gave them plenty of work on public buildings and (what was still more urgently needed) main roads. Internal exploration, which had been languishing since Hunter's time, was again pushed on. Gregory Blaxland thought out a plan of surmounting the hitherto impregnable Blue Mountains; every attempt to cross them European fashion, by the valleys, had been blocked with huge precipices—he determined to try the ridges, keeping as high as possible all the time along the water-parting between two of the streams. With Lawson, young Wentworth, and four men, he pushed through a wild and barren land for seventeen days, cutting every afternoon the track along which his horses would travel the next morning; on May 28, 1813, he had crossed the range into good grass country, only fifty miles beyond what had been for so long the barrier of a half-starved settlement. Macquarie hailed the returned explorers with delight and gratitude, and sent one of the Government surveyors to complete their work; and in less than two years from Blaxland's adventure a road had been made through to the western plains, and the town of Bathurst founded as a nucleus for the newly added province.

The Blue Mountains crossed, May and June 1813.

Surveyor Evans explores the Bathurst Plains.

Bathurst founded, 1815.

This success gave a great stimulus to the long-neglected work of inland discovery. Evans during his journey had discovered two fair-sized streams running westward, to which he gave the Governor's names, Lachlan and Macquarie. In 1817 the Surveyor-General, Oxley, headed an expedition to follow the

Oxley's expeditions

first-named of these rivers to the sea; but he had hit on a wet season, and found nothing but swamps all the way down its course. Just when a day's journey further would have brought him to its junction with the Murrumbidgee, he lost heart and turned away northwards to find the Macquarie, which where he struck it was running through much more cheerful country: but when he took a second expedition along its course the next year, it vanished as the Lachlan had done in impassable morasses. He therefore determined to strike due eastward, so crossing the Liverpool Plains and the rivers which he named after Lord Castlereagh and Sir Robert Peel; and coming over the dividing range upon the head of the Hastings, clambered down with great difficulty into its valley and back by Port Macquarie and the coast route to Port Stephens. Meanwhile Hamilton Hume, who in 1814 had penetrated the hills south of Camden as far as Berrima, was pushing his explorations past Goulburn to Lake George: and adventurous settlers did steady pioneer work further and further south, till rumours came up to Sydney of the great knotted chain of Kosciusko and its daughter streams that we know as the Snowy, the Upper Murray, and the Upper Murrumbidgee.

down the Lachlan, 1817,

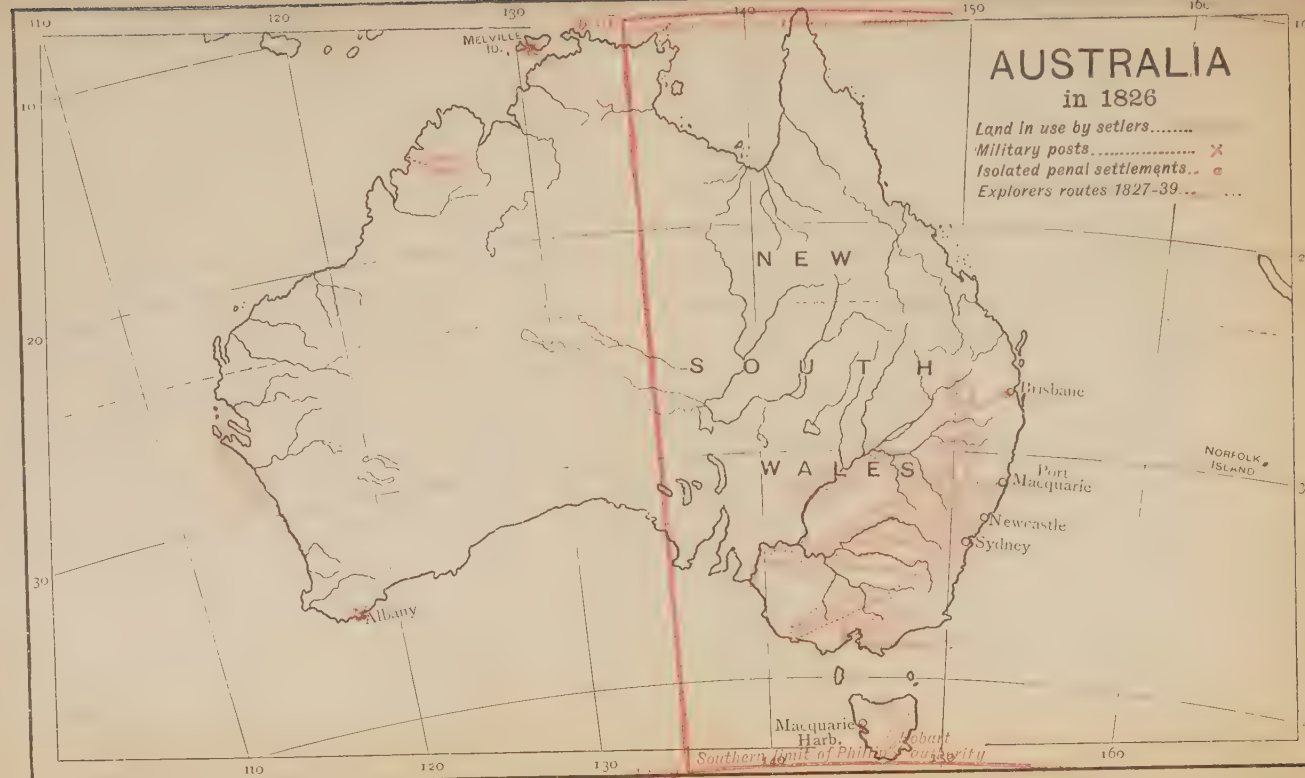
and the Macquarie, 1817-18.

Hume opens up the Berrima and Goulburn districts.

Rumours of the Monaro plains.

While Macquarie rejoiced in discoveries which at last made a colony of free settlers possible, he was none the less anxious to make the best of the material he had in hand. In previous years convicts had been assigned rather promiscuously to all employers who took the trouble to ask for them, and this had relaxed discipline unduly: Government officials, moreover, had procured their own and their assigned servants' supplies from the public stores free of cost. Macquarie withdrew a great many convicts from undesir-

Macquarie's internal reforms.


AUSTRALIA
in 1826
Land in use by setlers.....
Military posts.....
Isolated penal settlements..
Explorers routes 1827-39..
MELVILLE I.
NEW
SOUTH
WALES
Brisbane
Port Macquarie
Newcastle
Sydney
NORFOLK ISLAND
Albany
Macquarie Harb.
Hobart
Southern limit of Philip's Authority
110
120
130
140
150
160
10
20
30
40

able private employment, and stopped the whole system of allowances to Government officials. The rum-sellers he endeavoured to fight by well-meant but somewhat unfortunate strategy: he contracted with three prominent men to build a hospital on condition that they should have the monopoly of spirit-selling in the colony, and so hoped to gain surer control over the rum-traffic and to enlist the biggest offenders themselves in the work of putting down illicit sales.

The emancipist problem, however, was the one in which he took most interest. There was now a large number of men in the colony who had served their time as convicts and become free again. Many of them had been sentenced on political charges, or others which would not nowadays imply disgrace; and Macquarie saw no reason why they should not again take their place in a free society. The non-convict settlers with whom he came in contact belonged largely to the clique of the anti-Bligh mutineers: he felt it wise, therefore, to build up around himself a class of colonists who would be his firm and grateful friends, especially as he was thus carrying out the very purpose for which the colony had been founded. But the freemen would have nothing to do with the freedmen. The older magistrates declined to sit on the bench with the Governor's nominees: the first judge of the newly founded Supreme Court would not let emancipists practise before him, and the second tried to deprive them for life of the ordinary rights of citizens. Macquarie fought hard for his favourites, and for some years kept the support of the Home Government, for indeed his policy was the right one; but the hard fighter is often driven to put himself in the wrong, and a vain man like Macquarie is especially likely to do injudicious and extravagant things. The official class

The Emancipists.

Opposition of Marsden, Bent, and Barron Field.

was still influential at home; a commissioner was sent out in 1818 to make a general investigation into colonial affairs; and on the receipt of his report it was thought wiser, without exactly censuring the Governor, to recall him and entrust the series of recommended reforms to the milder methods of Sir Thomas Brisbane. But Macquarie had no reason to be ashamed of his work. He had turned a gaol into a colony, and changed many a sullen convict into a sober and prosperous citizen; schools and churches, flood-prevention and road-making, practically date from his governorship; and it was directly owing to his stimulating zeal that year by year the patriarchs of inland Australia were journeying south and west past Goulburn and Bathurst, driving before them those ever-increasing flocks which have since built up the wealth of the Great South Land.

Mr Commissioner Bigge.

What Macquarie accomplished.

The rule of his successor—of the next three governors, indeed—was still disturbed by the bitter conflict between emancipists and "exclusives." Darling was against the emancipists, but Brisbane and Bourke alike had an earnest desire to govern impartially and to keep the peace between the two sections; each was sooner or later drawn into the quarrel, and each owed to it his recall or resignation. From Brisbane's time onwards the "exclusive" party put itself more and more in the wrong. It had from the first been a combination of men who belonged to or sided with the old N.S.W. Corps, although claiming to represent all the free men of the colony; but when after Brisbane's arrival a steadily rising stream of free immigrants swelled the population, it was found that the new-comers sided mostly with the emancipists. Indeed, this name ceased to be a correct one for the party out of power, and was only retained by

Brisbane, Governor, 1821-5: Darling, 1825-31; Bourke, 1831-7.

The Emancipist problem becomes knottier.

Steady immigration begins, 1822.

its official opponents to prejudice its cause in the eyes of the home Parliament. With the often sordid details of this long dispute we cannot here deal; but we must understand clearly that through the years from 1820 to 1840 New South Wales was passing through the same crisis that Upper Canada had seen in its struggle against the Family Compact,*—with this disadvantage, that while Canada was able to voice its grievances through a representative assembly, the Liberals of New South Wales had no outlet except the columns of two small newspapers.

There was, of course, a certain amount of constitutional reform. Now that the Governor ruled a colony, not a prison, his absolute power must in some way be curtailed. Brisbane, as a first step, was given a council of Crown nominees purely to advise him: if he disregarded their advice the matter was to be settled at home. The Supreme Court, hitherto a one-man affair working after the pattern of English Equity Courts, was remodelled to allow of a trial by jury in civil cases (although criminal cases were still left in the Supreme Court to a jury of seven military men): and Judge Forbes, the first Chief Justice of the colony, earned the bitter hatred of the exclusionists by introducing juries of civilians in criminal matters into the smaller country courts, where the Act allowed it. The amending Act of 1828, in fact, cancelled the judge's reform, and re-established military juries everywhere in criminal cases—a measure less retrogressive in practice than in theory, since the officials had already taken good care that no emancipist's name should appear on the jury list. The same Act enlarged the nominee Council so that it should contain a majority of non-official members, gave it a restricted power of

Constitution of 1823.

Constitution of 1828.

* See p. 133.

law-making, and put under its control the whole of the revenue from Customs; and by a later section imported into Australia the whole system of the English Common Law. Immigration, which was soon aided by Government contributions, more and more swamped * the convict and emancipist (properly so called) element with the flood of settlers and artisans. Wentworth, the youngest of the Blue Mountain explorers, headed the Liberal Party in an agitation for a more popular form of Government; the old cry of "no taxation without representation" was heard for the first time south of the Equator; Bourke, the most clear-headed and unimpassioned of our early Governors, pronounced definitely against the exclusionist policy; and in 1842 Parliament saw its way to advance New South Wales one step in Colonial grade, and gave it a single Legislative Council with twelve nominees and twenty-four elected members.

Wentworth and "*The Australian*" newspaper.

Constitution of 1842.

Meanwhile the shape of the actual settlement was vastly altered. The "Cumberland County *plus* Newcastle" colony of Bligh's time had been given by Macquarie an outlet over the western mountains, and the first-fruits of the immigration under Brisbane were thriving communities round Goulburn and Bathurst, and in the valleys of the Upper Nepean and the Hunter. Oxley's discovery of the Liverpool Plains was comparatively useless, owing to his round-about way of reaching them, until Cunningham found a road through the Pandora Pass; but Port Macquarie was used for a convict settlement, until it struck the Governor as a place too good to be wasted on convicts,

Territorial expansion.

* In 1832 New South Wales had a population of about 60,000, of whom two-fifths were convicts. In 1841 the total population was 150,000, and the convicts numbered 27,000. Of the total increase 70,000 were free immigrants.

and the expedition sent out to find a substitute recommended one on the banks of the Brisbane River twenty miles inland from Moreton Bay. Three years later Cunningham pushed northwards past the Peel, across the Dumaresq, and discovered the Darling Downs; and so on opposite sides of a difficult range Queensland began to live a double life—a convict settlement on the coast, an inland territory of noble sheep pastures.

Moreton Bay explored, 1823.

Cunningham's expedition of 1827.

What Cunningham was doing for the northern country Hume did on the south, and Sturt and Mitchell on the West. Hume, with an old sea-captain, Hovell, for his mate, struck south-west from the Goulburn Plains across the Murrumbidgee and the tangle of ravines among which it rises, found and with some difficulty forded the Murray where it runs strongly between noble hills, and traversed the north-eastern plain of Victoria to the Dividing Range not many miles from where Melbourne now stands. But there bush fires drove him westwards, and for some days concealed the expanse of Port Phillip from his view, so that the great bay was only reached at last near the present Geelong. The party returned full of good news—to find that even exploration was to be dragged into the exclusionist feud, and all their work must be officially ignored because they had done it as a private enterprise and not under orders from the Surveyor-General.

Hume and Hovell's expedition, 1824.

Sturt was luckier, and set out with full credentials to solve Oxley's mystery of the Macquarie marshes. This time a drought held the land, and the river had disappeared altogether; but in a vain search for it Sturt lit on the Darling, which puzzled him considerably by being a river of salt water. A year later he achieved a more daring and more important

Sturt discovers the Darling, 1828.

exploit. Oxley had looked upon the Brisbane River as the possible outlet of the Peel-Castlereagh-Macquarie river-system; Cunningham imagined the Darling as flowing overland north-west to the Arafura sea; Hovell alone, putting together his sea-knowledge of the South Australian coast and the experiences of his journey with Hume, prophesied a river-system discharging into Encounter Bay. Sturt was now sent to verify this prediction. He struck the Murrumbidgee above Gundagai, and followed it along to the swampy country; then, embarking in a whale boat, floated down past the mouth of the Lachlan, shot into the broad strong current of the Murray, explored, but could not ascend, the junction of the Darling, and after thirty-three days found himself in a wide shallow lake cut off by shoals and sand-ridges from the open ocean. A ship was to have met the expedition, but it was sent somewhere up St Vincent's Gulf; the whole journey had to be retraced against the stream with scant provisions and failing strength: and when after desperate struggles the explorers again reached Sydney, some were decrepit, some scarcely sane, and Sturt himself became quite blind.

Sturt on the Lower Murray, 1829-30.

One more expedition was needed to make clear the general shape of Australia's south-eastern corner, which holds to-day three-quarters of the total Australian population. In 1836 the then Surveyor-General, Sir Thomas Mitchell, determined to complete and connect the explorations of Oxley, Hume, and Sturt. Starting by Oxley's Lachlan route, he traced that river to the Murrumbidgee, and so into the Murray: he explored the Darling far enough north to make sure that it was Sturt's river of 1826, and the Murray far enough east to identify it with Hume's river of 1824: then, striking south-west across the

Mitchell in *Australia Felix*.

Wimmera district, he climbed the Grampians and drifted down the Glenelg to its mouth. An eastward turn brought him unexpectedly in sight of white men's settlements, where the Tasmanian Hentys, pioneers of Victorian prosperity, had started a farm and a whaling depôt on the shores of Portland Bay. Mitchell's return journey led him along the Dividing Range, within view almost of the still untrodden gold-fields of Ballarat, till from Mount Macedon, whence nowadays men see faintly the blurring smoke of Melbourne, he watched green waves of park-like plain spread southward forty miles to meet the still bright wavelets of the great bay, and his military soul was stirred to poetry as his diary recorded the name of Australia Felix.

The Henty settlement at Portland Bay.

All this exploration brought settlement in its train—not so much the steady permanent agricultural settlement which establishes a body of yeomen on the soil, cultivating their own farms, as a roving occupation of large undefined districts by "squatters," men who pushed out one beyond the other into the unknown midlands wherever water and grass could tempt their sheep. In and about the "settled" districts—Goulburn, Bathurst, Mudgee, and the Hunter River valley—the exclusionists and their friends secured big grants of fertile country; beyond these stretched a vast area of grazing land that no one owned, because it was worth no one's while to buy it at any price which the home government would take. This was the squatters' domain, claimed at first as their own by mere right of occupation: but when the authorities gave reality in Australia to that fiction of English law by which all land within the Crown's dominion is the Crown's property unless it has been explicitly granted away by deed, the squatters accepted the decision and

The squatters.

stayed tranquilly where they were, sure that no one was going to take much trouble about disturbing them. The Colonial Office at home made various regulations, first proposing to survey and value territory before allowing settlement, then insisting on sales by public auction with a minimum of five shillings an acre; * but these orders were to be only put into practice within a new set of "boundaries of the colony, within which settlers will be permitted to select land." These included, roughly speaking, the districts already opened up under Brisbane, and left the great plains to westward still beyond the law. Bourke's common sense found a way out of the anomaly by treating the squatter as a trespasser on Crown lands, and giving him a licence to go on trespassing till further orders—a system which at least legalized the situation, and brought in a small revenue from licence fees. And presently a division of the cumbrous area of the colony into three land districts—Moreton Bay, Sydney, and Port Phillip—heralded, and was at once understood to herald, the severance of two new colonies from their unwieldy parent. It is wise, therefore, to go back on our tracks for a while and watch the growth of these offshoots which were to be Victoria and Queensland.

Land Regulations of 1824 and 1831.

Bourke creates "Pastoral Districts," 1836.

Land Regulations of 1840.

E. The Daughter Colonies.

One child had already left the parent's apron-strings. The year 1804 had seen Tasmania colonized at both ends, and in 1812 the northern settlement of Launceston passed under the control of the Lieutenant-Governor at Hobart. Macquarie,

Tasmania. Governor Collins, 1804-10.

* Raised to £1 an acre in 1842.

To face page 252.

eager for the prosperity of every part of his kingdom, found time to visit the little southern island and plan roads and schools and townships for its advancement. Davey's government was a coarse practical joke, but in spite of it a little progress was made: though four years of Sorell, the sworn enemy of bushrangers, doubled the colony's population. Then came Colonel Arthur, a ruler of much experience from British Honduras, who was afterwards to bring Ontario safe out of the Mackenzie revolt.* Freed by the Act of 1823 from any but a nominal dependency on New South Wales, he set before himself a very clear idea of what he wanted the island to be. It was already a receptacle for many of the worst convicts, those who had committed fresh crimes since their transportation: he determined to make his rule a terror to these evil-doers, while the more hopeful characters should find Tasmania their home. Sorell's penal settlement at Macquarie Harbour, previously an Inferno without one redeeming feature, was re-organised with that view; and when its isolation was some years later broken in upon by the approach of free settlements on the land side, Tasman's Peninsula was chosen as a substitute, and an establishment built on its southern inlet, whose rigid discipline and attempts at scientific system in punishment made criminals shudder at the name of Port Arthur. But in such an island as Arthur dreamt of there was no room for free settlers, who were indeed told many years later that they were only there on sufferance, and must not expect much consideration. Consequently the Governor was constantly at loggerheads with his subjects, and his ability did not produce results worthy of it.

Governor Davey, 1813-17.

Governor Sorell, 1817-23.

Governor Arthur, 1823-36.

His policy.

Macquarie Harbour, 1821.

Port Arthur, 1832.

* See p. 135.

It was in his time that the Black War took place. The aborigines of Australia have not hitherto been mentioned, because, although the settlers had been in contact with them from the moment of Phillip's landing, yet their presence had practically no effect on the colonization of the country.* They are a race (or races, for their origin and relationship are still obscure) of small communities, kingless, and lacking in the power to combine against an enemy; and their white supplanters, while never free from isolated (and sometimes unprovoked) raids, have found their progress quite unretarded by any serious and determined opposition. But in Tasmania the case was different; the island was too small and its fertile belt too narrow to leave room for white man and blackfellow side by side; and while the intruders were often escaped or assigned convicts whose cruelty the blackfellow ascribed to all white men alike, the natives were of a fiercer and more crafty type than their cousins of the mainland. For years each race vied with the other in brutality, in spite of the best efforts of governor after governor. At last Arthur decided to have done with the trouble once for all. The natives were to be driven, as one drives kangaroos, by a line of four thousand beaters advancing from the north towards the neck of Tasman's Peninsula; but after two months of marching and £30,000 of expense, the *battue* resulted in the capture of one man and a boy. Things were looking worse than ever when an ex-bricklayer, George Robinson, who had already succeeded well with a settlement of blackfellows on Bruni Island, offered to collect the others by mere persuasiveness, and induce them to consent to emigrate.

The Australian aboriginal.

The Tasmanian aboriginal.

The Black War, 1830.

* Fear of them may, however, have discouraged the early governors from exploration inland.

In five years he had got together nearly all that remained, and they were shipped to Flinders Island in Bass Straits, where they dwindled and died of a curious home-sickness.

Of constitutional history Tasmania in those days had little. The home government gave it about as much liberty as New South Wales, and the Tasmanians imitated their northern fellow colonists with great fidelity in agitating for more; but there was no emancipist question, because the official exclusionist class was not strong enough to raise it.

Sir John Franklin, Arthur's successor, was even oftener in hot water than Arthur: his rule was an attempt to run the iron system on soft-heartedness, and the result was somewhat chaotic. In his time, though, the island found itself the home of learning. Arnold of Rugby influenced its education, Darwin and Hooker and many of less fame in science made extensive research within its borders. Yet, when all was said and done, convicts remained the *raison d'être* of the colony: when transportation to New South Wales ceased, the inflow to Tasmania was doubled: and when representative governments were set up on the mainland in 1842, Tasmania could not share the boon because the majority of her population was bond.

Governor Franklin, 1836-42.

Through some unaccountable ill-luck it took Australian settlers thirty years to discover the advantages of Port Phillip. Collins had camped there in 1803, and abandoned his camp; Hume saw it in 1824, but the settlers who were to have followed him the year after, camped on Westernport instead, and gave the job up in disgust. At last in 1834 the Hentys settled in Portland Bay, where Mitchell discovered them two years later; and the report

Victoria.

The Hentys at Portland.

of their success so stimulated Tasmanian enterprise that in 1835 two parties, under the squatter Batman * and the trader Fawkner respectively, entered Port Phillip and quarrelled over the site of Melbourne. Batman, however, had got only some worthless title-deeds from the native tribes, while Fawkner's men had wisely camped on the ground they claimed; so Batman devoted himself mainly to his first-occupied lands at Geelong, and in a few years saw settlement extending from it westward to the lakes and noble pastures of Colac. The authorities in Sydney and London vainly proclaimed that the adventurers were trespassing on Crown lands—the stream of colonists was not to be dammed back, and within a year Bourke found himself compelled to acknowledge facts, and to organize the Port Phillip district as a detached part of New South Wales. Melbourne was formally founded in 1837; and when the Act of 1842 came into force, Port Phillip found itself entitled to six out of the twenty-four elected members in the new Legislative Council.

First settlements at Melbourne and Geelong.

Bourke's proclamation, Sept. 1836.

Of the third daughter, known later on as Queensland, there is little to be said at this stage. The Moreton Bay penal establishment blocked for many years all settlement on the coast. Behind the dividing range, however, a pastoral population was rapidly occupying the Darling Downs, and spreading north and west into the domain of fiercer and more numerous tribes of blackfellows than had yet been met with on the continent. All these stations depended on Sydney or Newcastle for their supplies, and live stock trailed south and drays lumbered north for years along

Queensland.

* Batman had already distinguished himself in Tasmania, both during the Black War and by his capture of the bushranger Brady.

the weary routes by Walcha or the Pandora Pass; but in 1840 a practicable pass was found below Toowoomba to the coast, and the abolition of transportation freed Brisbane from its convicts, and gave the two districts a chance to amalgamate their interests. Organized government followed immediately, and in 1843 Moreton Bay sent its elected representative to the Council at Sydney.

F. Other Australasian Settlements.

It must not be imagined that Britain had claimed a whole continent for herself without exciting any jealousy among the other European powers. We have already seen expeditions sent out by Napoleon to explore and annex the southern (now Victorian) coast: and when ten years of peace had given France time to recover from her exhaustion after Waterloo, rumours of a new annexing expedition became frequent. Some said Port Phillip would again be the goal, and the abortive colony of 1826 was an attempt to forestall the invaders: but it was more likely that a spot would be chosen beyond the proclaimed bounds of New South Wales, so that there should be no technical ground of complaint against France for occupying British territory.* It became, therefore, at once important to secure our hold on the western half of Australia, by at least seizing a bay here and there along its extended coast-line to make a nucleus for inland settlement. Already Melville Island and Raffles Bay had been temporarily occupied, partly with the hope of opening up a Malay trade, partly because Cunningham's theory of the

French designs on Australia

Melville Island occupied by Britain.

* This was before Lord John Russell's declaration.

Darling brought it to the ocean in those waters: in 1826 a more lasting settlement was formed at King George's Sound, where the whale fisheries kept alive a township that the barren lands at its back would otherwise certainly have starved. The next year Captain Stirling, sent to survey the intermediate coast-line, found delightful-looking country on the Swan River, and his report stirred enthusiasts at home to try a new experiment in colonization. There was to be no Government aid except in the matter of land grants: but every £3 worth of goods (it did not particularly matter *what* goods) gave the immigrant forty acres of land, provided that five immigrants out of every eleven should be females —a curious little bit of theoretical colony-making. Unfortunately Stirling's distant view of the country had been altogether too rosy, and the soil was found to be poor and dotted over with poisonous shrubs: while a regulation which gave first choice of land to the men with the biggest claim surrounded the infant town of Perth with large speculative estates, and sent the working farmers to look for their smaller areas in the undefined and unknown interior.

Station at King George's Sound.

First rules for the Swan River settlement.

Very slowly the colony began to grow. Real settlement spread back along the Swan River, and townships began to spring up. The station at Albany was taken over from New South Wales, although many years elapsed before overland communication was established with it. Half-way along the intermediate coast-line a new settlement was made by a company at Australind, on the northern edge of Geographe Bay; though other immigration ceased, the lapse gave room for slower and more natural expansion in a land unfit to nurture crowds. But in 1846 the Legislative Council took a bold step and

Slow progress.

asked the Home Government for convicts. They got all they wanted; first reformatory boys, then ticket-of-leave men, then the regular brand of convict, with an accompanying stream of money for the new-comers' support. The farmers gained at once a cheap labour supply and a market eager for their produce; and with their prosperity the whole country leapt into new life. A timber trade, a trade in horses for India, pearl fisheries, and mines were opened up in a very few years; and so greatly did the settlers benefit, that, in spite of the many drawbacks of a convict population, they fought hard against a later decision of the Home authorities to abolish transportation, and were only consoled by receiving in 1870 a limited self-government of the type which the eastern colonies had gained in 1842.

West Australia gets convicts, 1849.

Transportation to W.A. abolished, 1865.

Far more interesting and (thanks to Sir George Grey) more successful was the Wakefield experiment in South Australia. Sturt's report on the lower Murray basin, and a later survey by Captain Barker, set people in England thinking of settlement in that part of the continent: and Edward Gibbon Wakefield formulated a scheme for an aristocratic colony, where rich men should buy the land at high prices for cash, and poor men should be brought out as labourers with the proceeds of the land sales. Parliament appointed the promoters of this scheme a "Colonization Commission," and insisted that whole families should be sent out together where possible, that all land in the colony should be sold for the same price at any given moment, and that neither convicts nor any other form of Government support should be given. On this experimental basis the new colony was an utter failure. The rich

South Australia.

The Wakefield scheme.

emigrants arrived first, found bush life not to their liking, and settled down glumly to speculate in Adelaide town-lots; the labourers, when they arrived, could get no one to employ them, and had not the money to pay for high priced land themselves. The Governor and the Resident Commissioner, one representing the Crown and the other the promoters, quarrelled violently and without ceasing. Gawler, who was sent out to supersede them both, had no ideas beyond starting relief works; but when his own private fortune was exhausted in this way, the Home Government (after advancing £155,000) insisted on its original contract, and refused to pay the accounts he had run up. For a short time the colony was bankrupt.

Its first trial a failure.

Governor Hindmarsh, 1836-8.

Governor Gawler, 1838-41.

Such a state of affairs brought about its own remedy. Gawler was not allowed to sell land at less than twelve shillings an acre, cash down: but by this time there were plenty of unhappy owners who would dispose of theirs for less, and the worker immigrants at last got their chance to farm. Moreover, young and adventurous squatters had begun to travel their sheep overland from the Sydney side, and take up runs in the lands behind Mount Lofty and along the Murray. Best of all, Gawler was recalled, and Captain George Grey sent out as Governor. Great as his services were later on to New Zealand and to the Cape Colony, none of Grey's work has been more fruitful than what he accomplished during this, his first tenure of important office. He abolished the relief works and dispersed the workers among farms and stations inland; he cut down Government wages below those given by private employers; he stopped all public works that were not absolutely necessary. He taught South Australia, in

The Overlanders.

Governor Grey, 1841-5.

His drastic reforms.

fact, to depend on that private enterprise which is the secret of British success. Fortune smiled on him in answer, and disclosed lead mines at Mount Lofty and copper mines of great richness at Kapunda and Burraburra. The authorities at home were quick to acknowledge this renewed vitality; the Commission was abolished, the debt was forgiven, promise was made of representative government at the earliest possible date, and South Australia became a Crown colony like its eastern neighbours.

Discovery of mines.

South Australia had practically no native question at all; in New Zealand the native question has been everything. The Australian blackfellow is little better than a Cape Bushman; the Maori is cleverer, and has been no less ferocious, than the Zulus of Tchaka. A Cape colonist might have understood and managed these fearless savages, men more generous and honourable than most Europeans, warriors who fought for the mere joy of fighting. But the first white settlers in New Zealand did not understand that variety of savage their idea of "nigger" was borrowed from second-hand reports of the African negro's stupidity, and confirmed by the weakness and simplicity of the mainland blackfellows they knew. A "nigger" with land-laws, more especially, was something outside their wildest dreams. So the miscellaneous collection of escaped convicts, half-piratical whaling crews, and other such jetsam of the Pacific, which camped and fought and lived a wild life on the shores of the Bay of Islands, was more brutal, perhaps, but no more exasperating in its treatment of the Maori tribes, than the refined but arrogant officials of the powerful New Zealand Company.

New Zealand.

The Maoris.

The Pakehas.

This nest of outlaws in the Bay of Islands gave

white men such a reputation for villainy among the Maoris that no ship dared put in along the adjacent coasts without being fully prepared for an attack. The first attempt at improving this state of things was made by Samuel Marsden, the head of the Church of England in New South Wales, a man whose political activity in the mother-colony enveloped him in a halo of prejudice, but whose work in New Zealand was never anything but admirable. He first established missionaries in the Bay of Islands, persuading Macquarie to support them against the unruly whites, by the appointment of four magistrates (one Englishman and three Maori chiefs) to preserve order. Soon afterwards the Home Parliament confirmed this assumption of authority as far as British subjects were concerned, but deliberately refused (and continued obstinate for many years) to assert any authority over the natives or the islands. Other missionaries followed, but the best of them failed to control the Maori passion for war, and traders of the reckless and violent South Sea type gave the chiefs many chances of indulging it. At last, on a petition from some chiefs for protection against a worse set of traders than usual, Governor Bourke persuaded the home authorities to appoint a Mr Busby and a Lieutenant M'Donnell as Residents in the disturbed districts; and Busby utilized the experience of the missionaries, and soothed the natives by allowing them to declare their independence as "The United Tribes of New Zealand," so that he was able to keep some sort of order till a more decisive step became necessary.

Dr Marsden

founds a N. Z. Mission, 1814.

Statute of 1817.

Resident Magistrates, 1833.

The French again.

Shut out from annexing any part of Australia, the French had for some time been meditating a descent upon the twin islands to the

east. Baron de Thierry, a half-English, half-French adventurer, was appealing to France to help him in asserting his title to land at Hokianga under M'Donnell's supervision. Now while we were quite willing to leave the Maoris as much as possible to themselves, leaving them to France was a different thing altogether; but private enterprise again anticipated, and indeed hastened, Government action. Wakefield, the author of the South Australian experiment, was ready with plans for another colonizing Company. He himself took no active share in this enterprise, being called away to act as Assistant Secretary to Lord Durham in Canada,* where he afterwards settled for some years: but his brother went out in command of an emigrant ship, and ran up the British flag at Port Nicholson just two days before Thierry arrived with a French flag. It was not the only escape in New Zealand history, for the same year a French fleet † sailed to annex the South Island: but, putting in at the Bay of Islands on their way, they gave unintentional warning to a British naval officer, who sailed in hot haste to their goal at Akaroa and beat them by four days.

De Thierry, 1823 to 1839.

Wakefield again.

The New Zealand Company 1839.

Colonel Wakefield began, immediately on his arrival, to buy up land from the neighbouring Maori chiefs, and later on claimed that he had secured twenty million acres in patches along the coast between Taranaki and Hawke Bay, besides the Wairau valley and a patch on Tasman Bay in the South Island. But his ship had been hastily followed by one bound for Sydney, which carried the formal proclamation of New Zealand as part of the colony of

The Company at work.

* See p. 136.

† This fleet belonged to a Company (the Nanto-Bordelaise) which had engaged, in return for protection and convoy, to hand over to the French Crown one quarter of all the lands it should occupy.

New South Wales, and a commission for Captain Hobson—an officer already experienced in New Zealand affairs—as Lieutenant-Governor of the new British possession. Hobson sailed at once for the Bay of Islands, and called together the Maori chiefs to explain to them the altered condition of affairs: and out of this meeting arose a treaty, signed by the heads of "The United Tribes of New Zealand," and by many other chiefs of unconfederated tribes, which is still the basis of our rule in the North Island, and is looked upon by the Maoris as the charter of their liberties.

Governor Hobson arrives, Jan. 1840.

This Treaty of Waitangi is a very simple document when interpreted honestly and with a knowledge of Maori law: it has been a stumbling-block only to those who thought that the "bit of cloth and a few glass beads" style of treaty was good enough for any "nigger." The chiefs, signing for their tribes, surrendered their sovereign powers (such as they were) to the Queen of Great Britain. As against any other nation they were for the future British subjects, on a level with their fellows throughout the Empire, and the Queen's officers would have authority to search out and to punish crime. But in return for this surrender all their proprietary rights in the land of the two islands were guaranteed to them, and they agreed to dispose of them—if they cared to sell at all—only to representatives of the sovereign. Now the Maori land-law was simple enough: the land belonged to the tribes, not to individuals, and could be parted with only by a tribe's deliberate act. No cession by a chief (much less by a private person), not even (according to some authorities) forcible expulsion after war, could bar the tribe's right to

The Treaty of Waitangi, Feb. 6,

yields sovereignty,

but retains for the Maoris possession of the land.

To face page 264.

territory; only the formal and solemn declaration of the whole body could sever the tribesmen's connection with the place where their fathers were buried. Attempts were at one time made to deny the genuineness of this law, but the Maori statement has been backed by the highest legal authority; from the very first strong protests were made against any neglect of the law by white men; and the deviations which sometimes occurred in practice can be explained as usurpations on the part of the chiefs like those of the zamindars in Bengal.

Hobson therefore found himself immediately at odds with the settlers at Port Nicholson. Backed by his superior officer, Governor Gipps, he absolutely refused to recognize any of Wakefield's purchases except a patch on Port Nicholson itself. Directly the islands were made a separate Crown colony, he put into force an ordinance by which no purchase made at any time from the natives should be valid unless he himself, now Governor, approved of it. The New Zealand Company fought hard: it allied itself with other English colonizing companies,* and hurried out settlers to its alleged Taranaki and Tasman Bay estates, rightly anticipating that Hobson's opposition would have to yield to accomplished facts. Hobson worked himself to death in the attempt to manage unruly traders in the north, aggressive land-speculators in the south, and excited tribesmen buzzing like disturbed hornets in their fastnesses between the two. His temporary successor, Lieutenant Shortland, was not firm in his seat before the trouble had become acute. Colonel Wakefield's brother saw in the interregnum

Hobson has to fight the Company.

Crown Lands Ordinance, 1841.

Hobson dies, Sept. 1842.

The Wairau incident, 1843.

* Plymouth was to the fore, as it had been in colonizing America, and left its name on the map of New Zealand also.

a happy opportunity for pushing the Company's claims, and at once proceeded to occupy the Wairau purchase. The Maoris resisted; Wakefield led a body of armed settlers to drive them away: shots were fired, and in the scuffle Wakefield was killed. Only the firmness and just behaviour of Shortland prevented an immediate war—and even his prompt acknowledgment that the Maoris were in the right did not avail to soothe their rapidly increasing irritation, which was intensified by the unwise weakness of the next Governor, Captain Fitzroy.

Governor Fitzroy, 1843-5.

Grey had already rescued one Wakefield colony from bankruptcy: he might be able to rescue another from extermination. In 1845 he was suddenly transferred from South Australia to New Zealand, where a native war had just broken out in the northern peninsula. The Maoris had apparently been studying Parliamentary debates, and did not understand the sneers at themselves and the contemptuous references to their cherished treaty which they found there. The moment, indeed, was critical; by way of attacking and discrediting the Ministry of the day, a Committee of the House of Commons had reported in favour of refusing to acknowledge Maori rights over any lands "not actually occupied and enjoyed by natives." Only Grey's firmness finally saved the situation. He began by proclaiming once for all that the Government would stand by the Treaty of Waitangi: then he called on friendly tribes to assist him against the rebels, and with their help crushed the Bay of Islands rebellion and another that was just beginning near Port Nicholson; while the loyal chiefs were rewarded with offices under the Crown, and the tribes in general pacified by the recognition of their own system

Governor Grey, 1845-53.

Hone Heke's war.

The "penny-an-acre" proclamation of Oct. 1844, cancelled in June 1846.

of justice and the cancellation of Fitzroy's foolish concessions in the matter of land purchase by private individuals.

With that began Grey's stubborn fight against the pretensions of the New Zealand Company. The points at issue were simple. He believed in cheap land and men who tilled their own ground: the Company held out for high-priced land and gentleman-farmers. He took the Treaty of Waitangi literally, looked upon the Maoris as British subjects, and treated them (generally speaking) as equals of the white new-comers—just as the French-Canadians of Quebec were equals of the U.E. men in Ontario; the Company's officials and its friends at home reckoned them a nuisance, to be cleared off the fertile lands of the colony as fast as white men might need them. In the North Island the struggle went on for years. The Whig pro-Company home Ministry of 1846 gave New Zealand a fearful and wonderful Constitution, providing for its division into provinces, the establishment of Municipal Corporations all over it, and its government by a complicated system of Councils and Assemblies (wholly white, of course), while the Maoris were to be cooped up in arbitrarily formed "aboriginal districts." Grey proclaimed the Act, appointed Lieutenant-Governors of the provinces —thus relieving himself of much routine work— and let the rest of it drop dead. The same Ministry passed another Act to define Maori land-titles on purely British principles; Grey absolutely refused to enforce this Act at all. The Ministry was wise enough to acknowledge its mistake—emphasizing the acknowledgment by knighting the Governor—and the North Island remained peaceful to the end of Grey's reign.

Grey's fight with the Company.

The Constitution Act of 1846.

The Amending Crown Lands Act of 1846. Both Acts successfully opposed by Grey.

In the South Island circumstances were different. The greater part of it seems to have been uninhabited, and there was certainly no Maori difficulty except in the northern districts already referred to. Here Wakefield's friends found a chance of testing his system with everything in its favour, free from native troubles, with a beautiful and fertile country to experiment on, and with the failure of the Adelaide scheme to warn them against *dilettante* colonizing. By this time, too, there was Canadian experience to guide them, and the new ventures succeeded admirably. Otago became the seat of a flourishing Scots colony, under the auspices of the Scottish Free Church; the wide well-watered plains of Canterbury were occupied by a similar Church of England settlement. The guiding principle of each was high-priced land (£2 per acre in Otago, £3 in Canterbury), whose sales, after ten shillings an acre had been paid as the value of the land, were to provide roads and bridges, churches and schools, and the passage-money of more immigrants.

Different conditions in the South Island.

The Wakefield system at last produces good results.

Otago.

Canterbury.

G. The Granting of Constitutions.

Between the years 1840 and 1850 all the Australasian colonies were in training for the enjoyment of political freedom. New South Wales got representative government in 1842, and South Australia a promise of it: transportation to the mainland was abolished in 1840, and only revived in 1849 for the isolated Swan River colony. The land question was the most prominent one of the day: in the older districts of New South Wales there was a successful attempt to make the squatter pay a fair rent for the run, which was now to be defined and leased

The colonies become used to freedom.

Statute of 1847.

to him ; round Port Phillip confusion had arisen because regulations from home fixed the price of land there so that it should not compete with South Australia. The great grievance everywhere was the refusal of the home Government to sell land at less than £1 per acre. The colonists said, truly enough, that a good deal of the land was not worth that sum, and should be sold at lower rates: Governor Gipps, backed by the home authorities, said the land would be worth it some day, and there was no need to dispose of all the colony to that generation of settlers. Gipps had his way, and subsequent generations have found some land still left for them.

Regulations of 1840.

Presently the outlying districts of the mother colony began to find themselves hampered by their enforced connection with Sydney — the Port Phillip men especially, since they took pride in their freedom from the convict element and their growing town of Melbourne. Up North opinion was divided: the squatters of the inland plains never quite disconnected themselves from Sydney and Newcastle interests, while the small settlers and traders of Brisbane thought that independence might bring the back-blocks trade their way. But Port Phillip had no doubts. The Melbourne men were not going to ruin their local business by attending Council meetings at Sydney: certainly they were not going to elect Sydney people as their representatives. They were already a separate land district with a separate treasury ; they had a see and a bishop of their own—why not have a colony of their own? They surprised the British Secretary of State for the Colonies by electing him as their member on the Sydney Council, and the humour of it struck him more than fifty petitions would have. In 1850 a new Constitution Act was passed, dealing with various

Port Phillip claims separation.

The Act of 1850.

Australian colonies; and the next year Victoria found herself going alone.

Before she was quite firm on her feet a tempest struck her, and all south-eastern Australia was in a whirl. In 1848 gold had been discovered in California, and the whole world rang with wild tales of sudden fortune and more sudden violence. In their newspapers the quiet farmers and squatters of Australia read with mild interest strange stories of the far-off mining camps. And then—in the twinkling of an eye it was upon them, this rush of eager gold-seekers, this turmoil of lawless adventurers from all the nations under heaven. Gold was known to exist in the gullies of the Dividing Range: but hitherto the secret had been whispered by half-terrified discoverers to the ears of reluctant officials. Now the colonies knew that payable gold had been found in a gully not far from Bathurst, and the steep cañon of Summerhill Creek was already the home of a thousand miners. The hunt was up, and new gold-fields broke out all along the main range. Clunes in Victoria reported a rich find, then Buninyong, then Ballarat: presently men swarmed northwards, and Melbourne heard the magic name of Bendigo. Five months of the rush brought half a million's worth of gold for export; in two years there were seventy thousand men on the fields. These were the results in Victoria alone, and the first strain on its resources was almost too great to be borne. In New South Wales a more firmly established government found it comparatively easy to control the smaller inflow of excited diggers; South Australia and Tasmania had no discoveries to speak of, and suffered mainly through loss of population, while the former colony soon found it profitable to supply the eastern gold-fields with provisions. But in Victoria the administration was scarcely fledged; at best it had hoped

Gold.

Victorian discoveries.

to rule seventy thousand people, and it was called on to face a population that doubled, and trebled, and within four years quadrupled; its laws were made for farmers and pastoralists, and now a mob of wild Uitlander miners (to use the modern name for them) had swallowed up even its local police. It sent to Tasmania for warders, to England for troops. It attempted to raise the licence-fee which, imitating the mother colony, it had imposed on all diggers. The diggers protested; they were being taxed, they said, by a Council in which they were not represented; they went so far as to form a Diggers' Congress. Bendigo petitioned for a lower licence-fee, and aided its cause with a little rioting; the fee was reduced, and Bendigo quieted down again. Ballarat, though hitherto a less disorderly camp, was now not so to be soothed; at last the miners there refused to pay any licence-fee at all, and entrenched themselves, when the troops were sent up to do police work, on the Eureka lead. It was a mistake as fatal as that of the Mahratta chiefs in Wellesley's time; they were indomitable in their own tents, but the concentration of their forces made a defeat, when it should come, absolutely crushing. The troops attacked their stockade and carried it with a rush—and the revolt was over.

The rush.

The licence-fee trouble.

The Eureka Stockade.

The time had come for a permanent solution of the whole colonial problem in Australia. In Victoria, by the end of 1855, the Uitlander population had settled down finally as residents, and were therefore justly entitled to a share in the government. In Tasmania transportation was a thing of the past, and its free settlers could at last claim that the island was theirs. South Australia in 1850 had received a Constitution such as New South Wales had in 1842, and was rapidly learning the lesson of self-government.

Free Constitutions.

The very Act which gave it this Constitution empowered the Councils of all the four colonies to devise new ones for themselves, and the Colonial Office, anxious to be rid as soon as possible of these turbulent communities, was urgent that they should use their powers at once.

New Zealand. New Zealand, steadily growing in prosperity under Grey's firm rule, gained in 1852 a federal constitution practically designed by the Governor himself. It was the only way of properly reconciling the divergent interests of the Crown and the Company —or rather the Company's heirs, for the Company itself had been dissolved two years before. So Auckland—the Crown-settled district — the Company's original settlements of Wellington, Nelson, and New Plymouth (since called Taranaki), and the later church colonies of Otago and Canterbury, each received an elected Council and a superintendent of its own, while all six were controlled as to important and non-local matters by an elected Assembly and a nominee Council. For two years this system was worked with an Executive of permanent Crown officials: then the British instinct asserted itself, and Ministers became responsible to the Legislature, holding office only while the Assembly supported them. Those two years taught the other colonies a lesson, and the constitutions which they gained in 1855 embodied in practice from the first the principle of responsible government.

Responsible Government at last.

Each colony, moulding its own legislature, adopted the double-chambered (Council and Assembly) pattern with differing details: and with the severance of the Moreton Bay district from New South Wales in 1859 to form the new colony of Queensland, Australia assumed the shape and obtained the freedom which was to serve it for thirty years of quiet and isolated progress.

To face page 273.

CHAPTER VII

AFRICA.

THE African continent takes at once first and last place in the history of modern colonization. Before America was discovered, or Australia thought of, the Portuguese were establishing trading-stations all along the Guinea coast: but Australia had been settled for years and America for centuries before those trading-stations began to grow into anything more like colonies. Away down at the southern end, it is true, Holland had in 1652 made a beginning of genuine settlement, which gradually spread eastward and became the nucleus of the present Cape Colony: but with that exception Africa proper, as late as a hundred years ago, was for Europeans an unknown wonderland bounded by a narrow ribbon of unhealthy coast-line.

Africa colonized very slowly.

African geography is in some respects not unlike that of India. The Mediterranean coast-line was always closely connected with Mediterranean Europe, and is cut off by the Sahara from the main body of its continent. Leaving that out of consideration we have two great table-lands, the lower and more northerly one stretching east and west, the higher running north and south. One river, the Niger, and one lake, Lake Tchad, drain through fertile valleys what there is to be drained of the northern plateau:

Its physical geography.

the rest of it is practically desert. From the other, fed by many lakes, three great and for the most part navigable rivers (the Nile, Zambesi, and Congo) run north, east, and west. But the edges of both plateaux skirt the coast-line so closely that ships are blocked at a comparatively short distance from the river mouths: and the mouths themselves of the Niger, the Congo, and the Zambesi, opening into tropical seas, are intricate deltas full of malarious disease for white explorers. So adventurers who sailed along African shores found that they could reach all the wealth of the East Indies without one-tenth of the trouble that would take them perhaps a hundred miles into this unamiable continent, and were content to tap its riches by mere trading forts along a fraction of its coast-line.

I. West Africa.

The Duke of York's charter, 1662.

We have already spoken of early British trade with the natives of Western Guinea.* The first serious attempt to exploit the country was the result of a charter given by Charles II. in 1662 to his brother the Duke of York. Like the American charters of that century it was splendidly vague and comprehensive, granting a thousand years' monopoly of trade between Barbary and the Cape of Good Hope. Ten years later this charter was passed on to a new trading company, which set to work to make it commercially profitable by engaging in the slave trade. Cape Coast Castle had already been taken from the Dutch, and British ships joined those from Portugal and Holland that haunted the Oil Rivers and the Niger delta.

Royal African Company founded, 1672. 1661.

* P. 53.

In dealing with this form of commerce, which has played so important a part for both good and evil in the history of Britain's Atlantic colonies, we must be careful not to judge the events of past centuries by the moral standard of to-day.* The blacks of the northern tableland are a race physically strong, but with ill-equipped minds, at once cunning and superstitious, childish alike in their quick passions and in their lack of organizing power. They fall easily under the dominion of higher tribes, such as the Fulahs who lord it over Sokoto and its dependent kingdoms; and under such leaders they eagerly destroy or enslave each other. Slaves were offered to English traders as regular merchandise many years before the Royal African Company engaged in the traffic. The first slave traders were, in their own eyes, practical philanthropists. They did not introduce slavery into Africa; they simply took things there as they found them, bettering, they thought, the lot of the unfortunate victims by substituting civilized and Christian conditions for the ghastly barbarities of West African tyrants. Nation after nation followed in the track of the Portuguese. The first disgust of English traders at the traffic was admirable, but founded on sentiment only, not on a sense of its wrongness; and as Britain acquired tropical and semi-tropical colonies across the Atlantic, the necessity of obtaining labourers for their development became urgent. The home islands had none to spare; America itself had no able-bodied workers; but West Africa produced all the colonists could want, and to West Africa they went. For a short time they allowed the Dutch, slave-trade middlemen from the first, to do the work of transport; but the Navigation Acts of 1651-5 in no

The slave-trade

indigenous to Africa.

British slave-trade does not begin till 1640 at the earliest.

* See also p. 43.

long time ousted Holland from the carrying trade, and British ships brought over negroes at the rate of 7000 a year. Then came into existence that vicious triangle of commerce over which sailed ship after ship, carrying slaves from the Oil Rivers to Jamaica and Carolina, receiving there the produce of slave labour, tobacco, molasses, and cotton, for transport to Bristol, and returning to the African coast with the rum and cotton goods into which that produce had been worked up.

The vicious triangle.

In 1721 the Royal African Company obtained what they thought would be a very lucrative privilege. Under the terms of the Pope's decree of 1493 Africa belonged to Portugal as against Spain: and the Spaniards could not well dispute the validity of this arrangement, whatever other nations might think of it. They were therefore dependent on Portugal, or on the nations that disputed Portugal's claims to Africa, for the supply of slaves to all Spanish America. Their colonial policy was always one of monopolies, and the King of Spain made money by assigning (for a consideration, of course) to some one nation exclusively the contract for slave-importation. By the treaty of Utrecht this contract, called the Assiento, was transferred from the French, who then held it, to the English for a period of thirty years, and was given (for a stipulated share in the profits) by the English Government to the South Sea Company. At the reconstruction of that Company after its misfortunes in 1721, the African Company took the contract over. But the business was not a paying one, even from the purely commercial point of view. It was enormously wasteful of human life: the raids which supplied its market destroyed every other form of industry and the populations that lived by them, and in doing so annihilated

The Assiento.

the material—the human beings—which they were intended to procure. The Company fell deeper and deeper into debt to the Spanish King, and to recover itself took a great part in forcing on the war of "Jenkins' ear," which was expected to cancel the King's claims; but the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle left them as urgent as ever, and in 1752 the Company ceased to exist, being replaced by the African Company of Merchants, a body which represented all merchants engaged in the African trade, and was chartered to trade and hold posts between 20° N. and 20° S.

The contract is cancelled, 1750.

Slave-trading, as we may imagine, did not promote the formation of colonies along the West African coast. The posts held by merchants of each nation were merely *depôts* for the storage of slaves and other merchandise, with a strong fort built beside each for its protection against rival traders. Even the ground on which these buildings stood was not the property of either merchants or nation: it remained, in some cases up till only twenty-nine years ago, still a part of the dominions of some native ruler. The traders were tenants only, and the posts changed hands nearly as often as a leased house nowadays. The fort at Arguin, for instance, was first Portuguese, then Dutch, then French, then Prussian: England then had the offer of it, but the price was too high, so the Dutch got it again, and the French after them. In many places forts of two or three nations stood side by side: and so natural did this arrangement seem—so little was there any thought of territorial rights in West Africa—that by treaty after treaty British and French merchants were allowed to settle and trade in close proximity. The Peace of Paris, which

No colonies as yet, merely fortified storehouses.

Nor did any European nation claim territory.

gave Britain the Senegambia trade, wilfully left France at Goree : * the treaty of Versailles, in restoring Senegambia to France, kept open to British traders a strip of the ceded coast. † The forts were, in fact, only national in a very limited sense. From 1729 onwards the British Parliament voted yearly a sum of money for the maintenance of the African Company's posts, and took them over from its successor in 1763 : but twenty years later they were handed back to the merchants (the vote being continued) and were held by them, with a six years' interval (1821-7), for another sixty years.

Beginning of the anti-slavery agitation, 1761.

The slave-trade, then, prevented colonization : the first real colony was a mark of its approaching ruin. Half-way through the eighteenth century began a revolt of the more humane thinkers in France and England against the very idea of slavery. It took eighty years to convert public opinion to the whole of this new doctrine : the more visible and more horrible results of slave-owning were attacked and abolished in a much shorter time. In 1807 the carrying trade between Africa and America was finally prohibited ; but long before that a judicial decision ‡ had declared in 1772 that on British soil no slavery was possible—the slave who trod it became a freeman at the touch. Now many American planters, coming home to enjoy themselves, had brought for economy's sake their household slaves with them : and as this decision set them free and made it necessary to pay them for their service, the economy vanished, and the unfortunate negroes were turned adrift. The

* An island opposite Dakar on the mainland by Cape Verde, which is now the important settlement.

† Compare the provisions of the Treaty of Utrecht with regard to Newfoundland. But the French have been wiser than we, and in 1857 made a bargain with us which cancelled our trade-rights in Senegambia.

‡ In the Court of King's Bench, delivered by Lord Mansfield (Somerset's Case).

Government, in order to be rid of this unwelcome body of unemployed, gladly aided a private company of philanthropists to transport them back to Africa: and in 1787 a party of four hundred was established on the shores of Freetown harbour, the best in all the Atlantic coast of Africa, where next year the purchase of a strip of land and the submission of the neighbouring chiefs gave Britain her colony of Sierra Leone. Here freed negroes were brought in 1792 from Nova Scotia and in 1800 from Jamaica. On the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 the colony was transferred from the private company to direct control of the Crown.

Sierra Leone the first real colony.

This was the beginning of an entirely new policy in regard to African trade. "Open up the interior" was now the cry; for slave-raiding had so ruined the coastal districts that from the table-land only could material for legitimate trade be obtained. Side by side with the African Company of Merchants, from which it must be carefully distinguished, the African Association took up the work of exploration. Of what lay behind the fever-breeding swamps of the coast nothing was known. But there was a rumour, thousands of years old, of a great river, the Niger; and on this half-mythical stream later rumours placed the glorious city of Timbuctoo. The French, further north, had for many years vainly tried to get to it up the Senegal, which, according to some accounts, was a mouth of the Niger itself. The Gambia was another possible mouth—for eighteenth-century maps make the river a perfect octopus, some even joining it to the Congo and the Nile. Up the Gambia, therefore, went Mungo Park, the first of a splendid line of Scottish explorers in Africa; he saw the waters that men had

The interior explored by

Mungo Park, 1795-1805;

dreamt of, but was killed at Bussa in an attempt to follow them to the sea. After him Denham and Clapperton, cutting across the Sahara from Tripoli, discovered Lake Tchad; Caillié, the French explorer, reached Timbuctoo *viâ* the Senegal; Clapperton (with a new companion, Lander) struck the Niger from the south-west, and died at Sokoto with his discoveries half done; and Lander a few years later without knowing it explored the Niger delta and its great tributary the Benué. But it was not till after 1850 that the whole truth was known. Richardson and Barth, English and Prussian respectively, made for Lake Tchad by the Tripoli route, with the object of checking the internal slave-trade of the Sudan by commercial treaties with the central negro states. Richardson died during the journey; Barth before his return had joined the discoveries of Lander to those of Mungo Park, and the course of the Niger was mapped from start to finish.

Clapperton, 1822-7;

and Barth, 1849-55.

All this time the trading settlements on the coast had been going to ruin. The abolition of the slave trade had taken away their only source of profit, and nothing but the mere fact of possession prevented the British Government from abandoning them. A man is slow to throw into the ash-heap even his three-year-old hat. Ministry after Ministry experimented with new forms of control. They had three settlements to deal with—an island on the Gambia, the colony of Sierra Leone, and a row of forts along the Gold Coast, of which Cape Coast Castle was the chief. They began by supervising the Gold Coast traders in their relations with the kingdom of Ashanti. Then they abolished the African Company altogether, and tried to govern all the settlements from Freetown.

The coast settlements almost abandoned.

Variable policy of the British Government.

1818.

1821.

Next they abandoned all the Gold Coast forts but two, and two years after proposed to let those go also. Then the whole row of forts was handed over to a committee of London merchants. Fifteen years afterwards the Gold Coast was taken back by the Crown, and to each of the three settlements was given a separate Governor. In 1850 more forts—Accra, Quettah, and Addah, — were bought from Denmark, which thus disappeared from West Africa: and during the next few years each settlement gained new territory. In 1861 a fourth colony was founded by the cession of Lagos, the headquarters of such piratical slave-traders as had not yet been exterminated. And in 1865 a select committee of the House of Commons recommended the gradual abandonment of every West African colony except that of Sierra Leone.*

1825. 1828. 1843.

It was not to be expected that colonies should flourish when they were treated with such perverse inconsistency. But the interregnum on the Gold Coast—the fifteen years of control by a committee of merchants—gave that settlement an opportunity for consolidation of which the Governor skilfully availed himself. The confederated negro tribes of Ashanti had conquered the coast natives very early in the century, and had claimed succession to their ownership of all Gold Coast soil. For twenty years they enforced the claim by repeated invasions, and twice at least succeeded in getting it admitted. But Captain Maclean, whom the merchants' committee had made Governor, drove them from the coastal districts, freed the neighbouring tribes entirely from

Maclean founds the Gold Coast protectorate, 1828-42, and masters the Ashantis.

* The kaleidoscopic process did not stop there. In 1866 all four settlements were placed under one Governor. In 1874 the two eastern were separated from the two western ones. Lagos again became self-administering in 1886, and the Gambia in 1888.

their rule, and created what was practically a British protectorate over some eight thousand square miles of territory. Britain was at last beginning in West Africa the work of peace-making and establishment of order which had long before this given to India the first restfulness it ever knew.

Treaty of 1831.

For forty years Maclean's treaty confined the Ashanti warriors behind the river Prah. Sullenly declining all friendly commerce with their English conquerors, they settled down to manufactures of various kinds which they disposed of through such Dutch forts as were still left on the Gold Coast. But the Dutch Government was even more eager to get rid of its West African posts than the select committee of the House of Commons: and in 1871 Holland retired,* as Denmark had done twenty-one years before. This meant to the Ashanti king the disappearance of his last vestige of authority south of the Prah—for the Dutch had never disputed his right to a nominal tribute. As soon as might be he marched upon Cape Coast Castle in such force that it was determined to end his power once and for all. Sir Garnet Wolseley led the attack from the south, while a native force marched from further eastwards, upon the Ashanti capital of Coomassie: two defeats and the burning of his chief town, followed by the unexpected arrival of the subsidiary force, drove the king to abject submission; and the confederacy which he had long held together by the fear of his savage army broke up into a number of weak and peaceable chieftainships, which have since that time looked to British administrators for guidance and protection.

The Ashanti war of 1873-4.

Coomassie occupied, Feb. 4, 1874.

* The Dutch received as compensation the bare value of the stores they left behind, but it was also stipulated that Britain should abandon certain claims to a vague protectorate in Sumatra.

To face page 282.

II. East Africa and the Lakes.

In Eastern Africa, too, there was a flourishing trade in slaves, but not an European one. The Dutch colonies of Further India needed no importation of labour; India was crowded, Australia unexplored and seemingly worthless. It was the Turkish and Persian dominions that required slaves, and the Arabs, as fellow-Mohammedans, had a complete monopoly of that traffic. So the Portuguese neglected their annexations along the East Coast, and the Dutch, after two failures to take Mozambique, lost all interest in a region which lay out of the direct route to their lucrative Malayan islands. But in her early career of Asiatic conquest Portugal had occupied Muscat in Oman: when after nearly a hundred and fifty years the Arab Sultan of those parts regained his chief city, he soon followed up this success with a determined attack on all the East African forts which his enemies held so slackly, till by the end of the seventeenth century he had driven them south of Cape Delgado.

The East African slave trade.

1507.

At the southern end of the nominal Portuguese dominions lay an unfrequented harbour protected from eastern storms by the islands at its mouth, and receiving the waters of three large rivers—the best harbour, probably, on the African coast south of the Equator. Here now and then came a Portuguese coaster to trade with the natives for elephant tusks, and sometimes a Dutch boat from Table Bay or an English roving trader would put in for the same purpose on an equal footing with the Portuguese. When the Arab invasion was at its height, the authorities at Mozambique had enough to do at the centre of their territory

Delagoa Bay.

and Delagoa Bay was left to itself: so that when a Dutch expedition in 1721 settled where now is the town of Lourenço Marques, it was met with no protest and, indeed, no sign of Portuguese ownership but an old runaway slave. For ten years the assiduous Dutchmen did their best to make their new acquisition commercially valuable. They prospected for minerals, they pressed oil, they tried to grow indigo, they trafficked in slaves and ivory and got some profit out of the sale of pewter spoons: but in 1730 they were forced to abandon the place as useless for settlement, and after that only visited it occasionally to fetch away ivory. Then Austria, in a sudden fit of over-sea trading, in 1776 began to establish posts on Inyack Island and the mainland opposite. In two years' time the Portuguese heard of this boldness, and at last thought it worth while to assert their own claims: in 1781 the Austrians were dislodged, and in 1787 they themselves made a fort where the Dutch fort had been, and began to encourage a more or less permanent trade with the interior.

The Dutch occupation, 1721-30.

In 1822 an English naval captain, who was engaged in surveying the Bay and its inflowing rivers, was told by the resident commandant that the natives outside the little town were not subject to the Portuguese Government. Eager to secure for England the anchorage behind Inyack—a most valuable naval station—Captain Owen at once concluded treaties with a couple of native chiefs that purported to give him the southern half of the bay. But he made no effective occupation, and the same chiefs immediately after his departure signed a declaration of loyalty to Portugal—showing their impartiality at once by killing the commandant and most of his men directly an attempt was made to hoist the

Owen's treaties, 1823.

Portuguese flag on the disputed territory. So things went on on the old footing, till in 1861 another English captain re-annexed Inyack: and the subsequent negotiations dragged on until a boundary treaty concluded in 1869 between Portugal and the Transvaal made it urgently necessary that the British boundary in those parts should also be clearly defined. England stood upon Owen's treaties: Portugal claimed possession since the sixteenth century, but was willing to sell for £12,000. But this was the epoch of economies and arbitrations: we saved our money by submitting our claim to the decision of the French President, but we lost the Bay, and with it our absolute control of the South African coast-line.

Macmahon's award, July 24, 1875.

North of Cape Delgado little of interest happened during the eighteenth century. Early in the present one, however, Britain found herself involved in East African affairs: for when a revolt in Muscat set up a new dynasty in Oman itself, the African viceroy held his chief town, Mombasa, for the deposed rulers, and called in the British surveying squadron to help him against the new-comers. Captain Owen saw a new opportunity of adding to the Empire, and obtained a protectorate over a long coast strip which he hoped would be the nucleus of another India in East Africa. But the Government of the day had no use for empires, and our work in India was under a cloud: the protectorate was refused, and after thirty-five more years of fighting the new Oman prince, Seyyid Said, was undisputed master of the whole Zanzibar coast, and had extended his sphere of influence to the edge of the Great Lakes. On his death in 1856 there was the usual Oriental dispute as to the succession between his sons: and an award of Lord Canning's gave Oman to one, Zanzibar and its

British protectorate of Zanzibar proclaimed, 1824, and cancelled, 1826;

dependencies to his brother. The permanence of this settlement was now formally recognized and guaranteed by Britain, and Zanzibar became to all intents and purposes as much a British protectorate as Hyderabad or Kashmir. But the simple step of proclaiming this state of things officially was for various reasons never taken.

virtually but not formally renewed, 1861.

After the problem of the Niger's course had been settled by Barth, men began to look eastwards for fresh problems to solve. Geographically, the legends of the Upper Nile were even more famous for their age and their mysterious surroundings than those of the Niger: and directly affairs in East Africa began to settle down under an orderly form of government the long line of British explorers set to work in the district of the Great Lakes. Burton, Speke, Grant, Baker, alone or in pairs mapped out Tanganyika and the two Nyanzas, while Livingstone further south opened up Lake Nyassa and the Zambesi valley, and all but discovered the secret of the Congo. His work, indeed, was the more effective of the two. Ever since the abolition of slavery in British dominions the nation had been proudly philanthropic towards Africa: and Livingstone's self-sacrificing toil as a missionary excited an attention and an enthusiasm which neither he nor his fellow-explorers could have aroused by the most astonishing of mere discoveries. His travels made the towns of Central Africa household words all over Britain: and his death in 1873 turned African exploration into a sort of nineteenth-century crusade.

Explorations in East and Central Africa.

Burton, 1856-8; Speke, 1856-63; Baker, 1861-73; Livingstone, 1849-73.

III. South Africa.

[Note on South African Names.—In Boer names the four following sounds must be remembered: oe = *oo*, oo = *oh*, ei = *ay*, ij (often written y) = *ay* (very nearly,—the sound of last syllable in Fr. *sommeil*). Thus Bloemfontein = *Bloomfontayn*, Boomplaatz = *Bohmplahtz*, Vryheid = *Frayhate*.

In Kaffir names certain indescribable "clicks" occur which English can but feebly imitate by inserting minor vowels or semi-vowels to be half-pronounced; as in Cetywayo, Isand*h*lwana.]

A. The Dutch Settlement.

A glance at the map will show that of Africa proper (*i.e.*, not counting the Mediterranean countries) only a very small part is outside the tropics. Now within the tropics nearly all over the world Europeans find it very difficult to establish permanent colonial settlements, which must always depend on farming or herding: and in Africa especially intra-tropical "colonies" are really at the best only trading stations surrounded by a ring of protected native tribes. But the blunt southern point of the continent is thrust out into a cooler climate, and the European settler finds there at least the possibility of a healthy and comfortable home.

South Africa the place for European colonies.

After the terror-stricken flight of the Portuguese ships, and the falling through of the British East India Company's annexation, South Africa was for some time left to its Hottentots and Bushmen. But in 1652 the Dutch East India Company put into force a thirty-three years' old resolution, and established in Table Bay a "fort and garden" for provisioning their trade ships with fresh meat and vegetables. Very few settlers came to the new colony

The Cape seized by the Dutch E.I.C., 1652.

—it took twenty years to accumulate six hundred inhabitants—for the Company's trading rules were too strict to encourage any farming beyond what was necessary to supply its own fleet. In 1687, however, it was able to ship from Holland about two hundred of the Huguenots who had been driven from France by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes; these new-comers were not well treated by the Cape officials, and kept very much to themselves. Later on there came in Dutch soldiers who had served their time in the Indian colonies, and when they wanted wives the Company exported a number of girls from the orphan schools of Holland. It was not to be expected that any of these colonists would bear great affection to Holland or think of it as "home." They had been practically turned out of Europe, and everything that in the new land reminded them of Europe was detestable: the Governors were haughty and cruel, the laws were perversely tyrannical, all the petty details of life were subject to irritating regulations. Even the best of the Company's Governors put forth edicts against the use of umbrellas and silk dresses, and bade every man take off his hat to the Governor's house. As for business matters, the local Council took care that there should be no fortunes made outside the official circle. The Company fixed a price for produce at which it could buy all that the farmers had for sale. If a trading ship anchored in Table Bay the Company sold what it chose first, and then the farmer was given his turn—if the ship happened to want any more, and the Company had not already bought the whole of his stock at its own price. By dint of such treatment, continued for a hundred years, the Dutch officials managed to weld their discontented collection of Huguenots, veterans, and

Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685.

The beginnings of Afrikander sentiment.

Trade restrictions.

orphans into what was almost a new nation—a nation of men whose great wish was to be let alone, who cared nothing for trade and very little for any sort of social life, who owned no allegiance (except by compulsion) to any law but their own interpretation of the Bible, and felt no patriotism for any country on earth but their own South Africa. Capetown remained Dutch, but the rest of the colony was Boer.

The Boers.

As the young nation—though it was never really young: it was born middle-aged—increased, the area of the colony grew also. Whenever Dutch law and order came too near them, the Boers moved on into fresh country eastwards and northwards: and in doing so they found themselves in collision with a quite new variety of natives. The Hottentots, a somewhat lazy nation of cattle-breeders, were nearly all dead, mainly from epidemics of smallpox. The Bushmen, a smaller and more savage race of hunters, stole their sheep and cattle in thousands, and were trapped like vermin to check the thefts. But during the years of waiting between Portuguese discovery and Dutch occupation a more dangerous and more intelligent enemy had forced his way southwards from the Zambesi. Exterminating or absorbing the milder tribes that lay in their path, clan after clan of the great Bantu* nation had stormed down the east coast, each forcing its predecessors before it, till in 1779 their vanguard, the Kosas, met the eastward-trekking Boers not far from Algoa Bay. There for many years after an almost perpetual war raged between the whites and the Kaffirs, in which the latter were forced back step by step from the Fish River to the Keiskamma, and from

Early treks.

The native races, Hottentot, Bushman, and Bantu.

First Kaffir War, 1779-81.

Second Kaffir War, 1789-93.

* Pronounced *Bahnt'*. These southern clans are generally known collectively as Kaffirs.

the Keiskamma to the Kei. Luckily for the Cape Colony there was no civilized enemy in the background to organize and make still more cruel the Kaffir raids, as the administrators of French Canada had envenomed the Indian raids on New England. But the grim story of eight Kaffir wars will help us to understand why Boers retain what New Englanders have not long forgotten—the tradition that treats natives as vermin, as brutes who cannot morally claim to be treated like human beings.

French designs on the Cape.

As the French also had possessions in the East Indies, it was natural that they should now and again think of South Africa as a convenient half-way house. Mauritius, certainly, was their regular provisioning station: but when events in India had all but destroyed their trade, and had left them little but the wish to cripple British commerce in revenge, the Cape offered great advantages as a naval station on the direct line between Europe and the East. In 1781, during a short alliance between France and Holland, French troops actually occupied Capetown. When, therefore, in 1793 the newly-established French Republic became aggressive, declared war on Britain, and set up a fellow-Republic in the Netherlands, the British Ministry resolved at once to forestall any such further occupations: and the Stadtholder of the Netherlands, who had fled to England to seek refuge from the French, was induced to write a letter to the Cape authorities, commanding them to admit British troops into the colony for its protection against a French invasion. The recipients of this letter found themselves in a quandary. While some wished to hold Capetown for the Company, and some to await orders from the new rulers in Holland, there were a few in important positions who were de-

The French Republic becomes propagandist.

The Cape occupied by British troops, June 1795.

termined to obey the Stadtholder's orders: and the Boers, though disunited among themselves, were in favour of cutting loose altogether from Europe and setting up an independent republic* with all the French paraphernalia. The British knew their own minds: their half-hearted opponents were sure neither of their own nor of each other's. There was a slight attempt at resistance: the Cape Council passed energetic defence resolutions: and forthwith the garrison surrendered, and the British generals took over the administration of the colony.

The Dutch E.I.C. disappears.

At first the new state of things commended itself to the majority of the Boers. General Craig did everything he could to make them understand that their country had not been conquered or annexed to Britain: he maintained the best of the Dutch laws, and kept in office the most trustworthy of the late Company's servants: where he altered the laws it was to give them greater freedom, and all restrictions on their trade or their movements were at once abolished. But presently the British Ministry began to send out regular Governors, and all General Craig's arrangements were reversed. Lord Macartney, the first Governor, was the man who in Madras fifteen years before had so mismanaged the war with Tipu: his year at the Cape was productive of not much less mischief. His successor, Sir George Yonge, was corrupt as well as stupid. The Boers found themselves oppressed on all sides: the trade restrictions of the Dutch Company were revived, and they were forced to swear allegiance to King George. Worst of all, the Kosas burst into the border territory and ravaged it up to the Gamtoos, far west

The new rulers at first just and mild.

But afterwards tyranny produces disaffection.

Third Kaffir War, 1799.

* At Graaff-Reynet and Swellendam republics were actually proclaimed, but lasted only nineteen and five months respectively.

of Algoa Bay: and the British commander, instead of fighting, waited till their plundering was done, and then merely took their word that they would not do it again. As a natural result, the raid was repeated three years running, until the farmers took the law into their own hands and drove the Kaffirs beyond the border. And to men in this state of mind there came out agents of the London Missionary Society, full of abstract philanthropy,* to preach the social equality of white man and black man, and to condemn the Boer self-defence against their "brothers," the savage Kosas. One cannot wonder that there was rejoicing throughout the colony when, in 1803 (as the price of Ceylon), it was handed back to the control of the Batavian republic, which had replaced the old half-monarchical constitution of Holland.

Peace of Amiens, 1802.

This, the first and only real administration of the Cape by a Dutch government (for the earlier control was entirely the East India Company's), was in every way a model among colonial policies of the time. Every mistake of the later English Governors was remedied. The laws were to be such as suited the colony, not a mere literal copy of the code which might suit Holland. Trade was again made free, and differences of religion were no longer a bar to political freedom. Reserves were allotted to the peaceful native tribes, and the rest strictly excluded from the settled boundaries. How long this joyful state of things would have lasted we cannot tell, for the control was roughly ended in three years: but it left for very long in the minds of the Boers a regretful memory of the days when they ruled themselves.

The Cape a real Dutch colony.

* On this question of the missionary influence in South Africa note the well-judged statement of both sides of the case in Lucas' "British Colonies," iv. 113-132.

B. British Rule Begins.

Barely three months after the handing back of the colony in 1803 war had broken out afresh in Europe, and it became again a cardinal point of British policy to secure the Cape route to our Indian possessions. It was not, however, till 1806 that a great fleet sailed into Table Bay and landed an army of seven thousand men to occupy the unfortunate colony. This time there was a genuine attempt at resistance, but with no possibility of success; and General Baird did his very best to follow in the footsteps of General Craig. The Earl of Caledon, the first Governor who was appointed after the recapture, worked along the same lines, and his successor imitated him: but there is a great difference between doing what you wish and having to do what you wish, and the Boers could not reconcile themselves thoroughly even to the most benevolent of despotisms. Nor was their distaste for British methods of government lessened by any great admiration for the British character. Every nation and every age has its own ideas about lying. The Englishman of Napoleon's time thought it no harm, on the strength of British victories at sea, to make a boast of his prowess on land which had little to justify it till Wellington held the Peninsula: and the Boer, knowing something from his French friends of the glories of Napoleon, set the Englishman down as an unmitigated liar. The Boer himself, on the other hand, being taxed on his stock and the produce of his farm, had acquired a habit of gross under-valuation: and the British tax-collector was quite ready to call him a swindling scoundrel. Such first impressions tend to become traditional, how-

War with Napoleon, 1803-14.

Capetown taken, Jan. 10, 1806.

Lord Caledon, Governor, 1806-11.

Sir J. Cradock, 1811-14.

Ill-feeling between Boers and British.

ever flimsy be the causes that produced them: nor have the two races that dominate South Africa yet quite got over their mutual distrust.

Holland a kingdom, 1806. Holland annexed, 1810.

The Batavian Republic had disappeared not long after the outbreak of war, to be replaced by a Kingdom of Holland under Louis Bonaparte, a brother of Napoleon. In 1810 even this show of independence was lost, and Holland became a mere province of the French Empire. From that time forth the Boers lost all interest in Europe. Those who still thought of revolt longed for an independent republic of their own: the great majority were not anxious to have any such responsibility, and made themselves as comfortable as possible under British rule. But from any government, they thought, three things should be obtained: justice between man and man, protection from the border Kaffirs, and freedom to use their own beloved language, the Taal, and to abide by their settled customs. If on these three points the English could content them, well and good: if not—there were other places in the world besides the Cape Colony.

The Cape Dutch settle down quietly.

Fourth Kaffir War, 1811-12, brings about the founding of Grahamstown.

When in 1814 the Prince of Orange returned to Holland he was easily persuaded to sell his South African territory to Britain for six millions sterling *; it was a cheap way of showing gratitude to the nation which had sheltered him during his long exile. It is from August of that year, therefore, that we must date the acquisition of the Cape as a British colony. The new Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, was a despot of a fairly common type: he was not wilfully a tyrant, but rather a well-meaning though arbitrary and headstrong martinet. He

The colony is finally handed over to Britain.

Lord C. Somerset, Governor, 1814-26.

* This price included Guiana.

Heligoland (1807)
Malta (1800)
St.Lucia(1803)
Trinidad(1797)
Guiana (1803)
Sierra Leone(1787)
Ascension (1815)
The Cape Colony (1806)
Mauritius (1810)
Ceylon (1795)
Penang (1786)
New South Wales (1788)
Tasmania (1803)
BRITISH EMPIRE
1815
Additions since 1763 only named

did his best for the colony, but he would take no advice as to what would be the best for it. Consequently, although among the important acts of his governorship those which most injured and irritated the Boers were the result of direct interference from London, and were not of his doing at all, yet his unpopularity for minor reasons caused these also to be put down to his account. In 1815 there was an attempt at revolt among the Boers of the eastern district, caused by the use of Hottentot troops to coerce a recalcitrant Boer into paying his taxes. The insurgents tried to ally themselves with the Kaffirs—a fatal error in South Africa—and to mark the gravity of this offence, five of their leaders were hanged at Slachtersnek, where they had sworn the oath of rebellion.

It was under Lord Charles Somerset that the first really British settlement in South Africa was made. Up till 1820 the colony was purely Boer with a small leavening of English Civil servants. But in that year the Imperial Parliament granted fifty thousand pounds towards settling English and Irish families on South African soil. The Governor had spent the two previous years in fighting the Kosas, whom he had at last driven many miles eastward of their old boundary line, and separated from the European settlement by a strip of land where no habitation was allowed. The new settlers were located round Grahamstown, immediately behind this bare strip, to the number of nearly five thousand: and after a hard struggle under the new conditions, in which the government gave them judicious help, they became very prosperous.

British colonists arrive in S. Africa, 1820.

Fifth Kaffir War, 1818-19.

Then came upon the colony two great misfortunes. In the English Government of that day colonial

affairs were looked after by the Minister of War, who was a weak man: while foreign affairs and finance had each a strong and energetic Minister. Consequently we studied the interests of other nations' colonies much more than those of our own: and the more we warned Spain against further interference in South America, the more we insisted on interfering ourselves in South Africa. The new settlers were the *protégés* of the Ministry: the Ministry therefore saw fit to exalt them at the expense of the rest by making English, and English only, the official language of the Cape Colony. Every official document, every word spoken in the law courts, was to be in a language which seven-eighths of the people could not understand. The example of Canada might well have deterred them: but the Ministries of 1815-30 had no taste for historical study. Then the financiers took their turn. The colony was over-loaded with paper money, which had been issued partly by the Dutch, partly by the British administrations. This greatly hampered commerce with other countries, but was on the whole convenient for trade within the colony, such as the mass of the Boers engaged in. An order from England suddenly reduced the value of every paper dollar from four shillings to eighteenpence. The colonists protested angrily, English and Boers alike. They went so far as to send home the late Chief Secretary of the colony, Colonel Bird, who had been in office at the Cape ever since 1797 (except of course, during the rule of the Batavian Republic): but neither this gentleman's experience, nor the strong advocacy of Lord Caledon and Mr Baring, could avail against the *doctrinaire* policy of the Government. To the merchants of Capetown and Port Elizabeth the inconveniences of this step

English made the official language.

Currency reform clumsily carried out.

were balanced by the greater security it gave to their foreign trade: but the farmers of the interior simply lost five-eighths of their cash.

C. The Zulu Terror.

Meanwhile beyond the boundaries of the colony, all was war and massacre. In 1800 Africa south of the Zambesi was densely peopled with tribes of the Bantu stock,* living peaceably together as a rule, except when some chief took it into his head to consolidate his authority over the outlying clans of his dominion. But it happened that one tribe, the Umtetwas, was ruled by a chief who had seen something of European discipline and knew the value of drill and organization. This knowledge he imparted to his grandson Tchaka, who was a son of the Zulu chief, and by the deaths of father and grandfather managed to become head of both tribes: then he set to work to amalgamate them, and very soon fashioned out of their warriors an army of brave, orderly, and well-armed regiments. With this new and irresistible weapon he made war on every tribe within reach: the men he slaughtered, the women he married to his own warriors, and the children as they grew up ranked as full-blooded Zulus. Other Bantus might breed and pasture cattle: his regiments should live on their cattle and be recruited with their best fighting-stuff. So out of central Zululand he sent impi after impi on the work of destruction till no independent tribe was left within easy reach. Those who fought him perished utterly: those who fled attacked others in desperation, till

Rise of the Zulu nation.

Tchaka's wars, 1812-28.

* There were ninety-four distinct tribes in Natal alone.

the land was full of indefinite slaughter, and even beyond the great range of the Drakensberg every tribe was in motion from the Orange to the Vaal. Natal he emptied of its people (except for one small clan that sheltered at the Bluff, by what is now Durban, and owned its degradation by becoming fish-eaters) that it might be a great reserve for the royal herds. Once he marched as far as the Bashee, but went no further, lest he should encounter the white men whose methods he had found so efficacious. Pondoland, however, he left a mere shambles: Bechuanaland was laid waste, and refugees found themselves at last on the Zambesi, where they were afterwards known as the Makololo.

Tchaka, savage though he was, was not without greatness. His murderer and successor, Dingaan, had all his evil qualities in greater measure, and few of his good ones, and the work of extermination went on more brutally than ever. Soon of all the Bantu clans within reach there was but one left to carry on the fight: for in their strongholds between the two great ranges, the Quathlamba (Northern Drakensberg) and Lobombo mountains, the Swazis could defy even the victorious Zulu army. Presently the conquerors began to quarrel among themselves. Moselekatze (to keep his better known name, though Umsiligazi is a truer transliteration), one of Tchaka's favourite generals, had before his master's death dared to keep for his own army the booty it had won, and had found it wise, cur-like, to decamp hastily with the spoils to a safe distance. Through the Drakensberg passes his regiments burst into the Transvaal, and after completely devastating it and the neighbouring lands as far as the Kalahari Desert, settled down near the Upper Limpopo, where they founded the Matabele nation.

The Swazis.

The Matabele.

They settle down on the Marikwa, 1830.

Two more new tribes were among the results of this great upheaval. The Fingoes were a rabble of refugees who established themselves in Kosa country near the British boundary, and were so hated by the clans among whom they intruded that they were forced to look to the colonists as their only protectors. Further north a stronger body of fugitives had learnt a lesson from the Swazis. Under Moshesh, the cleverest of Bantu statesmen, as Tchaka was the cleverest of warriors, every man who could fight, if necessary, but preferred to live quietly, was provided with land and seed in the fertile valleys where the Orange River has its beginnings. Moshesh attacked no man: when the Matabele attacked him, he waited till they were starved out of his country, and then sent them food wherewith to get back to their own. It was typical of his conduct all through: he was one of those irritatingly successful men whose powers of putting everybody else in the wrong make them at once prosperous and unpopular with their neighbours: and with such weapons he built up the Basuto nation, the pet lamb of philanthropists and the despair of colonial statesmen.

The Fingoes.

The Basutos.

Of all these wars and migrations the net result was this: that in 1836 the Cape Colony was bordered everywhere, except on its extreme eastern corner, by waste and empty lands. Between the Keiskamma and Umzimvubu, Kosas and Fingoes harried each other: from their border the territory that is now Pondoland and Natal stretched to the Tugela in fertile valleys that no man tilled; for behind the Tugela Dingaan and his Zulus lived on their plunder, and kept up their training by continued raids into Swaziland. From the heights of Basutoland Moshesh looked south and east across the deserted

The great waste land.

Zulu hunting-grounds, Dingaan's idea of a New Forest: north and west of him for hundreds of miles stretched the Matabele preserves, where two tribes only dared to live—the Matabele themselves in their kraals along the Marikwa, and some way south-west of them a weak Bechuana tribe, saved from the general slaughter by the address and wisdom of the missionary, Robert Moffat. Besides these two there was no organized human society left between the tropics and the Drakensberg.

The Batlapin.

D. The Philanthropists.

Lord Charles Somerset went to England in 1826, and his successor was compelled by orders from home to continue the same Anglicizing policy. The law courts and the local councils were now attacked and renovated on British lines, though the Imperial Government remembered enough of Indian history to avoid the abolition of Dutch civil law. But more injurious than any of these definite changes was the growing influence of English philanthropists with the Home Government. For years—ever since the second taking of Capetown—the white farmers had been charged with murders and outrages committed upon the Hottentots, and in 1812 the whole colony had been thrown into confusion by an enquiry, which, after ample investigation, proved that the great mass of these accusations was entirely false. But in England the charges were still repeated, in spite of Governors' reports and the decisions of judges. Such charges always are: the men who dare to make them at all are either too excited to understand the value of evidence or

Sir Lowry Cole, Governor, 1828-34. Law reform.

The "Black Circuit."

not chivalrous enough to admit their mistake. The missionaries who actually lived and did very good work among the Kaffir tribes knew the truth, but their recommendations were put aside: the zealous philanthropic societies had their agents in Capetown, ready at any time to interfere with the edicts of the Governor, if need were, and to report to England every attempt at controlling the Hottentot population or repressing the Kaffirs. It was as if a Government official should insist on the abolition of all discipline at a great public school, on the ground that all boys must be treated alike and no more strictly than the masters: whereas, of course, the right to be treated equally well does not necessarily imply the right to be treated similarly. Uneducated tribes cannot govern themselves with safety either to themselves or to their neighbours. The Hottentot tribal system had disappeared long before in an epidemic of smallpox, and the remaining natives of that race were a masterless crew, obeying no man and no law: yet when the Earl of Caledon put them under European law, seeing that their own law was no longer in existence, the Capetown agents fought him and his successors till they got a new ordinance from home under which the whole race was again licensed to wander at large. One effort was made to settle the best of them upon farms of their own; but the Hottentots were not farmers, and soon gave up hard work for their old pastime of living on the enforced charity of the European settlers.

The missionaries sensible,

but their superiors will not listen to them.

The controlling proclamation, Nov. 1809.

Control abandoned, July 1828.

In 1834 came out the first of the three great Governors, Sir Benjamin D'Urban: the first, too, of a long line of Governors whose work was to be undone and whose reputation was to be

D'Urban, Governor, 1834-6.

sacrificed at the bidding of irresponsible critics in England. Certainly the fate of South Africa may make us grateful that India during these years of backstairs influence was governed by a non-political Company:* for every misfortune that ever came upon the Cape Colony has been a direct result of partisan pressure at home. D'Urban at once set to work to retrench the extravagant expenditure on the civil service, and to create an advisory council (called by courtesy "legislative"),† which should at least be able to let him know what the colonists wanted. These measures gave him a popularity which stood him in good stead; for there were harder tasks before him.

Retrenchment.

Since 1658 slaves had been imported into the colony, both by the Dutch and by the British during their first occupation. They had been at first a necessity, for the Hottentots would not work: but they became less and less of a necessity as the colony grew and Kaffir labour became available. During Lord Charles Somerset's government their control was rendered much more difficult, owing to the regulations made at home, which increased in complexity year by year, till at last the slave-owner had less control of his men than a manufacturer has to-day, while he was still saddled with the responsibility of keeping them. More than once, indeed, the Boer slave-owners made proposals to the Governor by which no child could in future be born a slave, so that the system must gradually die out. And when in 1833 the Imperial Parliament

Abolition of slavery, 1833 (at the Cape, 1834).

Boer proposals for emancipation.

* India, too, was further from home and so less immediately under control.

† In 1825 the Governor was given a "Council of Advice" of six officials. Two years later two of the officials were replaced by non-official nominees. D'Urban's council was made up of five officials and five non-official nominees.

emancipated all slaves throughout the British dominions, the Cape Colony at least acquiesced with a good deal of pleasure.

But the slaves, although of little use as workmen for their owners, had a money value. Being property they had formed an important part of the security upon which money had been lent to landholders: there were 35,700 of them, and their total value was estimated by Government valuers at about three million pounds. When therefore news came from home that the compensation money would amount to not quite half that sum,* that every claim must be proved in London, and that payment would be made there not in money but in Government stock, the consternation of the owners was very great. It meant just this: that the quiet old Boer farmer who had owned a few slaves worth, say, £300—and had probably got a loan for his farm on that security among others—would get at best not £300 in cash (which was the only form of money he had ever heard of), but about £125 in bonds payable in London. And to get even that much he, who had never been to Capetown in his life, must take to London documents (which probably did not exist) to prove that he owned these slaves—slaves that had been born on his farm: and while he was away it was more than probable that the bank would foreclose on the farm for the amount lent him, seeing that slaves were no longer a security and their value had depreciated 58 per cent. Again the British Government had made its favourite mistake—it had done the right thing in the most wrong-headed way possible. It had freed the slaves: but freedom was so given as to add them to the already large idle population of the colony, while the farms and vineyards were

The compensation scheme mismanaged.

* £1,247,000.

untilled for lack of labour, and half the working population was almost ruined.

So great was D'Urban's popularity that even through this time of misfortune he was able to keep the colony quiet. The Kaffirs, however, he could not keep quiet, as the Imperial Government thwarted all his plans. His scheme was borrowed, like so many others, from our experience in India: he proposed to guard the frontiers against depredation by creating a series of buffer states all along it. So far this was also the policy of the philanthropists: but whereas D'Urban saw that these states must be under British protection and guidance, the philanthropists, led by their Capetown agent, Dr Philip, insisted on their complete independence — which, they thought, would mean missionary control instead of official control. They found too late that it meant lawlessness and war.

D'Urban's Kaffir policy.

Real states like those of India did not exist, and D'Urban had to use what material he could get. On the Orange River he established a tribe of Griquas (half-caste Hottentots) under Waterboer, who fulfilled their work of keeping order admirably. But on the eastern border the task was not so easy. Lord Charles Somerset's strip of waste land had proved of little use as a defence against the ,Kosas, who had never really stopped their raids on the cattle of the English settlers. Behind the strip, moreover, they had been able unnoticed to consolidate their strength. An attempt of an English garrison to recover some stolen horses gave them an excuse for a new invasion, and once again there was scarcely a white man left alive or a house standing in all the Algoa Bay district. D'Urban and his lieutenant, Colonel Harry Smith, at once hurried up all the troops and volunteer forces that could

Buffer states in S. Africa.

Griqualand West, 1834.

Sixth Kaffir War, 1834-5.

be spared, and drove the Kosas far beyond the Kei: then he set to work to form another buffer state which should guard the much-vexed eastern frontier. As in the north he had used Griquas, so here he established a large body of Fingoes on the land which had formerly been kept waste as far as the Keiskamma: beyond them he placed the more trustworthy of the Kosa clans: and over the whole of this new province to the Kei he proclaimed British authority, so that the movements of the chiefs should be carefully watched by British resident officers, while they were allowed to govern each his own clan in his own way. The Kosas were glad to be let off so lightly: the missionaries who lived among them welcomed this mild but firm control: the farmers of the eastern district hoped once more to live securely and at peace. But the philanthropists willed otherwise. In 1836 the whole colony stood aghast at an order from home which recalled D'Urban, annulled all his arrangements, and handed back to the Kosas all our former conquests east of the Fish River, to be again their base of operations against the miserable settlers. Andries Stockenstrom, one of the few African-born white men who supported this disastrous policy, was made Lieutenant-Governor of the new frontier districts: to him, therefore, the ruined farmers made a last appeal for compensation and for protection against the Kaffirs. He ignored their appeal, and began to bargain with their enemies.

The province of Queen Adelaide.

D'Urban recalled.

So the Great Trek began.

E. The Great Trek.

For twenty years the Boer farmers had lived under an alien government. Bit by bit they had lost their laws,

their property, their language. The abolition of paper money had halved their earnings; the emancipation of the slaves had halved their working capital, and shocked their religious prejudices as well.* And now the Imperial authorities had left them open to the savageries of men on whom they were forbidden to retaliate — and had done this not from ignorance and carelessly, but deliberately and of set purpose. D'Urban they trusted—he was recalled, and his power given to men they detested, men who had falsely charged them with unheard-of crimes, bigots and slanderers at once.† There was no more to be said: no appeals could be of any use: they determined to have done with the British once and for all, and to find some home far beyond the limits of British rule where they might build up a new and independent nationality.

Boer grievances.

Where should they go? There was no difficulty about the answer: the land was prepared for them, they said. Why had Tchaka desolated Natal? Why did waste lands stretch so far north beyond the Drakensberg? The Matabele and the Zulus had been instruments appointed to make ready their refuge; and, as instruments, would themselves disappear or be in some way made harmless when the warrior pilgrims entered into their predestined home. In such mood, comparing themselves to the children of Israel as they left bondage in Egypt, and gaining new courage from the comparison, band after band trekked northward from the farmlands of the coast across the Black Mountain, across the dry Karroo, over the great

They move across the Orange River.

* "And yet it is not so much their freedom . . . as their being placed on an equal footing with Christians."—*Anna Steenekamp's Journal.*

† This is, of course, the Boer view—the case as it presented itself to the voortrekkers. See Boshof's letter to the *Grahamstown Journal*, and the protest of the Natal Volksraad to Sir G. Napier (both given at length in Bird's "Annals of Natal," vol. i.).

dividing range itself, and down the easy slopes of its northern watershed to the drifts of the Orange River. Once past these they felt safe, for British claims ran no further, and the Imperial Government had often refused to extend the bounds of the colony. But the appointed land was further away, and they pushed on steadily towards the Vaal.

Pioneers had already in part mapped out the way. For years the farmers of the north and north-east had driven their herds for change of pasture beyond the Orange River, and an exploring party in 1834-6 traversed the Transvaal country to the Zoutpansberg and struggled through to Delagoa Bay. That way followed a band under Hendrik Potgieter (among whom a boy of ten, Paul Kruger, has since made himself known to the world); the main body camped between the Vet and the Vaal, while a dozen of the more adventurous penetrated almost to the northern curve of the Limpopo, and came back with cheering news of fertile country. But the Matabele were before them at the camp near Kroonstad, and had slaughtered some of their comrades without warning: a second attack found the emigrants in laager, and failed to destroy them, though the retreating Kaffirs carried off all their cattle. A third band under Maritz came up from Thaba Nchu to their help. Without a moment's doubt they marched three hundred miles over the devastated country and surprised the nearest Matabele kraal, driving their opponents before them like antelopes. Then they marched back to their settlement, welcomed yet another band of their countrymen under Retief, and drew up the constitution of the new State. Their capital, as became conquerors, they named Winburg; and the land between it and the Vaal

The Somerset trek.

The Graaff Reynet trek.

The Albany-Beaufort trek.

Assembly at Winburg, June 6, 1837.

River was soon covered with the farms of Potgieter's men. Once more they marched against Moselekatze, a hundred and thirty-five of them against twelve thousand. For nine days they kept his regiments at bay, never wasting a shot; until the Matabele chief, already harassed by Zulu attacks from the east, and worn down by the dourness of these unsubduable farmers, fled with all his tribe to regions beyond the Limpopo, leaving three hundred thousand square miles of wilderness to be once more the abode of free men.

The Matabele driven from the Transvaal.

Piet Retief was the statesman of the Trek, and the Winburg *grondwet* was mainly of his making. Under it all whites were citizens, and eligible for any office, provided they took the significant oath, "I will have nothing to do with the London Missionary Society."* The Dutch Reformed Church was to be the established church of the community. Natives could have no citizen rights, but were not to be enslaved or deprived of their land without purchase. In other matters it adopted the old laws of that long-regretted Batavian Republic which had given the Cape its only three years of absolute content. In external matters there was a division among the leaders. Potgieter, the irreconcilable, was for cutting off all connection with Britain, founding an inland state, and obtaining sea-communications through Portuguese territory. Retief hoped for friendly relations on an equal footing with Britain, but saw that the desired independence could only be fully secured by holding a stretch of sea-coast in Boer hands. And over the range to the south-east lay the very land he wanted, the open downs and empty valleys of Natal, owned but little used by the Zulu king, against whose Matabele foes the Boers were fighting. In the centre of its coast-line was the only good port

Retief's *grondwet*.

* Identified by the Boers with Dr Philip.

between the Cape and Delagoa, where a little settlement of English traders and American missionaries held a grant of land from Tchaka himself. Twice they had petitioned to be made a British colony, and twice met with a curt refusal: the British Government claimed them as subjects and appointed a magistrate over them, but insisted that Natal was "a foreign land, governed by foreign chiefs." To them, therefore, Retief went down, and found them well disposed, but not too willing to be absorbed in the new state: he went on to meet Dingaan, and arranged with him for the cession of Natal on friendly terms. Nearly a thousand families followed him down the Drakensberg passes, and camped along the Tugela and Bushman Rivers: but Dingaan had already repented his generosity, and after killing Retief and his companion envoys in cold blood sent his impis to slaughter the unsuspecting immigrants. Potgieter hurried down from Winburg at the news, but his force fell into an ambuscade: seventeen of the Durban English, with fifteen hundred Kaffirs, fought desperately a whole day long against overwhelming numbers, and on the return of the few survivors Durban was hastily abandoned. Then came down a new chief for the disheartened farmers, the statesman Andries Pretorius; and under his leadership the Boer army of five hundred took complete revenge for Retief's murder in a battle fought on the Blood river against twelve thousand men of Dingaan's best regiments. "Of that fight," wrote one who was in it, "nothing remains in my memory except shouting and tumult and lamentation, and a sea of black faces: and a dense smoke that rose straight as a plumb-line upwards from the ground." The Zulu tyrant himself was chased into the mountains, after firing his great

Port Natal settled, 1824.

Durban founded, 1835.

Massacre near Weenen.

Dingaan's Day, Dec. 16, 1838.

kraal: outside it, on the hill of executions, the victors found Retief's body lying as it had fallen, and in a leather pouch the treaty by which Dingaan had given away Natal "from the Tugela to the Umzimvubu, and from the sea to the north as far as the land may be useful and in my possession."

A year later Pretorius moved again. During 1839 Dingaan had been making overtures for peace, but his power for mischief was by no means broken: so, when his half-brother Panda offered to become the Boers' friend and vassal if they would help him to the throne, their commandant accepted the offer readily. But his actual help was not required. Panda's Kaffirs met Dingaan's men in a fiercely-contested battle, and when in the thick of the fight a cry was raised, "The farmers are coming," the hostile Zulus broke and fled. Dingaan was chased across the Pongola, and there the Swazis caught him and tortured him to death. Pretorius seized the opportunity to make a not unjust settlement of the whole business. From the Umzimvubu to the Black Umvolosi, from the sea to the Drakensberg, he claimed the country for the "South African Society." Natal, as Dingaan had granted it to Retief, was to be the special territory of the republic, a white man's state: north of the Tugela, though the Boers retained the sovereignty (by way of a war indemnity), Panda and his Zulus were to be left undisturbed so long as they led a peaceful life—a condition all the easier to enforce because the veteran regiments had perished in the last great battle.

Jan. 30, 1840.

Proclamation of Pretorius, Feb. 14.

How long this arrangement would have lasted if left to itself, we cannot well judge, though it was undoubtedly the device of a statesman and a just man. But the Boers were not left to themselves. Their

inveterate enemy in Capetown had not lost sight of them. News went home to England that bodies of rebels had stolen away from the Cape Colony, carrying off their slaves with them, and were massacring natives in Natal. To retain slaves —to ill-treat natives—the mere accusation was enough; the whole body of philanthropists was up in arms at once. They knew nothing—they cared nothing—about the difference between a Matabele and a Bechuana. They pictured the Zulu as a mild, inoffensive, and down-trodden black man looking in vain to his trusted missionary for help against the fiendish Boer. They had yet to learn that Dingaan had kept his missionary as a useful decoy-duck for other white men whose goods he wanted, and had not scrupled to kill Retief in his presence. Sir George Napier, who had succeeded D'Urban as Governor, went cannily to work at first, doing his best to find out why the farmers had abandoned their homes and how their grievances could be remedied. When the Home Government ordered more stringent measures, he still did what he could to avoid friction. The slaves, he said, must be sent back at once, if any were found with the emigrants: and added that "no form of government which they may establish will give them the right to be acknowledged as a separate and independent people," so applying to the trekking Boers the same principle of international law which had been already asserted against the English at Durban. Also he seized the port of Durban, in order to control the Boer supplies of ammunition and ensure British command of the whole sea-coast. Beyond this he was content to do nothing, hoping that matters would gradually settle themselves.

Interference from England.

Durban occupied by British, Dec. 1838-Dec. 1839.

The remnant of the first Durban colony had now

thrown in their lot with the new-comers, and a Boer village soon faced the British fort on the Point. Napier strongly advised definite annexation of the whole country, but the authorities at home would not add an acre more than they could help to their troublesome African possessions: they threatened the emigrants with vengeance for their attacks on Dingaan, they rejected all demands for the acknowledgment of their independence, but they shrank from incurring any immediate responsibility. In December of 1839 the garrison was withdrawn from Durban, and the flag of the "Republic of Natalia" floated from its deserted flagstaff.

Six months later Lord John Russell ordered a re-occupation: Napier, knowing how the abandonment had emboldened the Boer government, begged to be allowed to negotiate first. However, nothing short of independence would satisfy them, and their policy towards the natives was becoming dangerous. Now that the Zulu terror was over, stray bands of Kaffirs had begun to re-occupy their homes of the years before Tchaka. This, Pretorius well knew, was fatal to his idea of a white Natal, and he proposed to deport them all to the southern border and settle them next to Pondoland between the Umzimvubu and the Umtamfuna. At once the Pondo chief took alarm and complained to Napier, who sternly forbade the deportation: there were also rumours that slavery was being revived under the guise of apprenticeship, and stray Dutch traders had encouraged the Maritzburg Assembly to hope for active support from the King of Holland. Just as Napier had reluctantly decided on re-occupation, the new Colonial Secretary, Lord Stanley, ordered a reversion to the former policy of non-intercourse. But the Governor stood firm, and with persistent argument drove Lord

Stanley into supporting his decision: meanwhile he sent a British force along the coast that seized the fort at Durban, and held it in spite of two disasters till reinforcements arrived by sea. With that the resistance of the Natal Boers collapsed, although from Potchefstroom and Winburg and the Modder there came incitements to hold out and reinforcing commandos. But Pretorius was wiser: and on May 12, 1843, Natal was formally proclaimed a British colony.

Durban re-occupied, May 4, 1842.

The proclamation of British authority was followed by an unfortunate (but apparently unintended) reversal of Pretorius' policy towards the natives. Henry Cloete, the British Commissioner, to whose tact the peaceful submission of the Maritzburgers was largely due, was fully alive to the danger of swamping Natal with refugee Kaffirs. Personally visiting Panda, he obtained treaties by which the new colony was extended on the north from the Upper Tugela to the Buffalo River, and St Lucia Bay, the only remaining harbour on the coast, was made British soil. But in the parts beyond Natal proper he left the Zulu king quite uncontrolled, and one can hardly wonder that Panda at once set to work to build up again the regimental system which the Boers had broken down. What Panda began his son Cetywayo improved on, and the work of Dingaan's Day had to be done all over again at Ulundi. As for the Natal Kaffirs, their number increased daily. The Assembly petitioned the Commissioner: the Commissioner protested to the Governor at the Cape: the Governor wrote despatches to the Colonial Secretary in London. Lord Stanley was quite of opinion that something must be done: but he had to consider opinion at home, and in the meanwhile the delay did Natal irreparable mischief.

British policy with regard to the natives.

When Retief entered it, it was No-Man's Land; nor had the Bantu tribes, themselves but recent invaders, more right to re-occupy it than the Boers who made life in it possible. Morally, as well as by right of conquest, it was white man's land; but the British public and the philanthropists had other ideas. In the end the southern half of it was given to the Pondos, the northern was thrown open to miscellaneous fragments of Bantu clans, and the chance of establishing a genuinely English colony on the most fertile land in South Africa was lost for ever.

Natal becomes a Kaffir reserve.

As for the Boers, they had good reason to complain of their treatment. Their acceptance of British rule, as they understood it, had meant the retention of their farms and their local government system, and protection against raiding Kaffirs. Bit by bit these privileges were minimized. Their land-claims, scrutinized by the legal and precise mind of London officials, seemed irregular and exaggerated. Their somewhat makeshift Assembly was viewed as a danger, and their loose jurisdictions as a scandal: for in England the epoch of formulas was still in full swing. In 1846 began a new trek inland: and when in 1847 the pressure of incoming Kaffirs grew too heavy to be borne, and Pretorius himself, journeying to the Cape, could get no satisfaction from the Governor, his last hope of peaceable life under British rule disappeared. He called the malcontents around him: back went their waggons over the passes, and they settled down along the Vaal.

Boer trek from Natal.

F. The Shaping of South Africa.

D'Urban's successors had not had easy times. Like most of the rulers with whom England saddled South

Africa, they found it very difficult to reconcile their preconceived opinions, and the orders they got from home, with a just handling of the real situation as they perceived it when they were actually at the Cape. It was with relief that Sir George Napier turned at last from the thorny problems of Boer diplomacy to handle the more immediate questions of native policy on the Cape Colony's own borders, and proceeded to carry out in full Dr Philip's policy of independent states. The Pondos were thus established in southern Natal, and from their mountain border the Basuto chief Moshesh was given an enlargement of territory. The gap between his boundary and that of the Griquas under Waterboer was filled by the creation of a second Griqua state under Adam Kok. It was a fine scheme on paper, but would not work at all. The white farmers north of the Orange River scoffed at the idea of obeying a half-caste puppet like Adam Kok. The Bantu clans of the Upper Caledon refused to be handed over as a free gift to Moshesh. And while Governor Maitland, Napier's less able successor, was vainly trying to set matters right in the north, the Kosas continually harried the colony's eastern borders with the utmost contempt for the shilly-shallying officials of Britain. They had done so, in fact, ever since D'Urban's recall: and after ten years of this torment the unfortunate English settlers round Algoa Bay found themselves once more in the midst of a barbarous Kaffir invasion. By this time wiser counsels had begun to prevail with the Imperial Government. Governor after Governor owned, and impressed upon the home authorities, that D'Urban's policy had been the right one. It was ten years too late for South African

Sir G. Napier, Governor, 1836-44.

More buffer-states: Pondoland, 1844, Basutoland, 1843, and Adam Kok's reserves, 1843.

The policy fails.

Sir P. Maitland, Governor, 1844-6.

Sir H. Pottinger, Governor, 1846-7.

Seventh Kaffir war, 1846.

union, but there was still time to recover much lost ground, when the news came to Capetown that Sir Harry Smith, D'Urban's right-hand man in 1835, had been appointed to rule the Colony.

Sir Harry Smith, Governor, 1847-52.

At last South Africa was governed by a man who knew it, and the change of policy was immediate. The Eastern Province (between Kei and Keiskamma) was re-annexed on D'Urban's conditions. Adam Kok was left to rule his Griquas in a reserve of his own: Moshesh found himself again confined to the land occupied by his Basutos. The land thus restored, and all that surrounded it between the Orange and the Vaal, was made a new colony, the Orange River Sovereignty, under direct British rule: this, it is fair to say, had been already proposed by Maitland, and Sir Harry Smith was but confirming his action. There was an attempt made by the Boers of the north, with Pretorius as their leader, to upset the arrangement: but after a defeat at Boomplaatz, and the discovery that most of the Sovereignty farmers preferred annexation by an old friend like Sir Harry Smith they retired across the Vaal and were left there in peace.

The native tribes put under control.

The Orange River Sovereignty, Feb. 3, 1848.

Boomplaatz, Aug. 29.

One more Kaffir invasion—the last and the worst—imperilled for a time all Sir Harry Smith's arrangements, for it was complicated by a simultaneous war with Moshesh. But the next Governor, Sir George Cathcart, was worthy of his predecessors. By 1853 he had at last settled the eastern border; rewarding our friends the Fingoes with valuable land taken from the rebel tribes. Moshesh he restrained for the time rather by tact than by actual victory. The Transvaal Boers, whose leader Pretorius had diplomatically refrained from interfering in the Basuto war, were rewarded with a formal acknowledgment of their

Eighth Kaffir war, 1850-2.

First Basuto war, 1851-2.

Sir G. Cathcart, Governor, 1852-4.

The Sand River Convention, Feb. 17, 1852.

independence.* Then came fresh instructions from home. The Imperial Government had spent a great deal over the last two Kaffir wars: it was not disposed to open up a fresh source of expense in Basuto wars. Nor was it at all anxious for large possessions in South Africa—the days were at hand when it would be considered a burden to have colonies at all. So it was decided to let the Orange River Sovereignty go, and a special commissioner was sent out to see it done. There has been no more curious episode, one thinks, in British history. The farmers of the Sovereignty clung to the Empire. "You built up," they said to the envoy, "this dangerous Basuto power: it is but fair that you should control it. Do that, and we will gladly rule ourselves: but let us always remain part of the Empire." It was useless. The envoy's instructions were to abandon the Sovereignty as soon as possible, and he even invited Boers from the Transvaal to go about preaching independence. This novel political campaign proved at last successful, and in 1854 the Orange Free State came into existence.

The Orange River Sovereignty is abandoned by Britain, and becomes the Orange Free State, 1854.

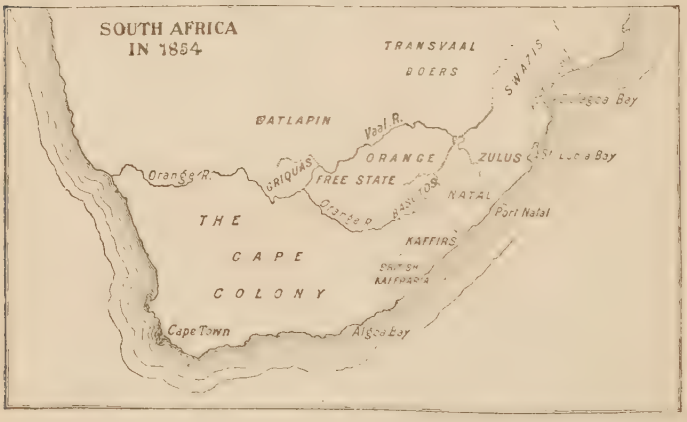
The Cape Colony itself had on the whole profited by these years of turmoil on its borders. The departure of so many farmers had left room for new immigrants who brought with them money and somewhat improved methods of cultivation. Kaffir wars meant the provisioning of British troops and the expenditure in the colony of much British money. Road-making—and the transport difficulty has always been a serious hindrance

Progress at the Cape.

* The exact terms are important, and run as follows :—

"The Assistant Commissioners guarantee in the fullest manner, on the part of the British Government, to the emigrant farmers beyond the Vaal River, the right to manage their own affairs and to govern themselves without any interference on the part of Her Majesty the Queen's Government, and that no encroachments shall be made by the said Government on the territory beyond to the north of the Vaal River."

to South African progress—flourished greatly under a system of locally elected Road Boards set up in 1843. British Secretaries of State turned gladly from the problem of trekking Boers and raiding Kaffirs to the congenial task of devising a constitution which should take off their hands this youngest and most troublesome of the great colonies. For there was no end to the trouble it gave. As Ministers in London



viewed it, its sole use to Britain lay in the maintenance of the naval station in Simon's Bay: if they tried to make it of more use, there were at once energetic protests and the threat of revolt. All through the forties they had hoped to disperse in the Cape Colony the convicts from whose inflow Australia had just been relieved, but had met with no encouragement from governors or colonists. At last Earl Grey—than whom no man was more eager to give colonies freedom, if they would take it in his way—made an attempt to settle the question "without any further

The Anti-transportation movement.

nonsense," as benevolent despots of the nursery are wont to say. An Order in Council proclaimed the Cape a penal settlement: the Governor was notified that military convicts from all our Eastern stations would henceforth be sent to the Cape: and in 1849 a ship full of ticket-of-leave men from Bermuda arrived in Simon's Bay.

The *Neptune* in Simon's Bay. Sept. 1849.

The colony went wild with indignation. The ship was boycotted: the Governor and the garrison nearly suffered the same fate. Boer and Englishman forgot their dislikes and agitated side by side. Sir Harry Smith did what he could: he refused to let the obnoxious immigrants come ashore, and forwarded petition after petition to the Home Government, backing them strongly with his own warnings. Unwillingly Earl Grey gave way, and sent the *Neptune* on to Tasmania, where it met with a similar activity of protest; for not the Cape only, but Sydney and Melbourne also and Hobart were firm in the resolve to have no more of this accursed transportation, even though (as Earl Grey plaintively put it) they were thus "declining the share of the common burdens of the empire which they might fairly be called upon to undertake."

This agitation had a double influence on the welfare of the colony. The two white races, hitherto estranged by mutual misunderstandings, found that they could work together and had, on the whole, the same ideas of the public welfare. The British Government, for its part, was more than ever anxious to be quit of so puzzling and provoking a country. For colonists and Government alike a liberal Constitution was the natural resource. In 1853 a Parliament was set up in Capetown, elective in both houses, for which every occupant of a £25 house had votes, were he white or black: this provision, as well as one by

The Constitution of 1853.

which Ministers did not belong to, and were not responsible to the Parliament, being a relic of the desire to ensure fair treatment to the native races apart from the good feeling of the white colonists themselves.

1856. About the same time Natal, which had been part of the Cape since 1845, was made a separate colony with a Lieutenant-Governor of its own and a small mainly-elected Legislative Council.

Under the Constitution of 1853 the Cape Colony settled down to a quieter life than it had known since the first British occupation. On its eastern border

Trouble in Kaffraria. British Kaffraria was never entirely still, and across the Kei Pondos and Tembus and Kosas stirred each other up with the cheery enmity of old

Sir George Grey, Governor, 1854-61. Highland clans. Sir George Grey, fresh from his Maori diplomacy, did his best to give the Kaffirs also a taste for orderliness and steady work: he began road- and harbour-making in the British province, and arranged for the founding of industrial schools where Fingo and Kosa might learn to make their own farm implements and till their ground in modern fashion. The Fingoes answered readily to his call, but our old foes could not rest. Chafing under

The Kosa madness, 1856-7. Cathcart's settlement, their chiefs plotted a grand outbreak of the whole Kosa nation that should sweep every white man off the face of South Africa. They proclaimed a day of vengeance, when the heroes of old time should arise from the dead to inaugurate a Kosa millennium, while the Fingoes and the whites should be crushed by a falling sky. Only, said the prophet of this miracle, the believers must show their faith by killing all their cattle and destroying all their corn: then for them new cattle and nobler, fresh and inexhaustible fields of grain, would spring suddenly from the earth, while the incredulous who dared not

trust the prophet would share the doom of their foes. The message ran like wildfire through the clans. The Galékas of the Transkei devastated their land without a murmur: their brother Kosas, the Gaikas of the British province, yielded more sullenly, but yielded: with memories of Bible miracles and rumours of the Russian war a nation of two hundred thousand souls was urged to the most fanatic of suicides. For the chiefs had kept their secret too well. They had intended to hurl their starving followers upon the British in a desperate war of extirpation: but when the eighteenth of February came and went, and the millennium tarried, there was no spirit left in the men they had deluded. British Kaffraria swarmed not with warriors, but with suppliants: and the Kosa nation, decimated by the cruel ambition of its chiefs, disappeared from Cape history for twenty years. 1857.

A re-distribution of territory in the affected districts naturally followed. Grey brought out more than two thousand Germans, who had fought in our German Legion during the Crimean war, and planted them in the now empty Gaika country, adding soon after a body of German peasants who brought their families with them and so made the settlement permanent. Beyond the Kei, as clans from the hills moved down among the scattered remains of the coast Galékas, Adam Kok and his Griquas from the Orange Free State were shifted into the abandoned hill-country henceforth to be known as Griqualand East. A little later British Kaffraria became an integral part of the Cape Colony, and the Transkei districts were one by one placed under British administration, until the last of them, Pondoland, was annexed to the Cape in 1894. Emigration and transmigration.

Beyond the colony's northern frontier native wars for

many years harassed the unwillingly-independent Orange Free State. The Boers claimed Sir Harry Smith's border-line. Moshesh held out for Sir George Napier's. Grey's attempt at mediation was a failure, as was also the first intervention of his successor, Sir Philip Wodehouse, for the Basutos would not yield a jot of their pretensions till they were really beaten. But in 1867 President Brand of the Free State at last mastered them: Moshesh, an old man without any able successor, appealed for protection to the British: and Basutoland, east of the Caledon and north of Sir Harry Smith's line, became a British protectorate. From 1871 to 1884 it was part of the Cape Colony, but has since been replaced under Crown control.

The Free State and the Basutos.

Basutoland annexed, 1869.

CHAPTER VIII

THE DEVELOPING OF AFRICA

A. Diamonds and Federal Schemes.

In Canada and Australia the influences that made for federation were largely external. South Africa has had a different experience. Its spasmodic attempts at union have been born of a desire either to control better the native tribes or to harmonize the dissonant qualities of the two white races. And as the British people has always been distrustful of colonial dealings with the natives, and the two white races have been as a rule more than distrustful of each other, South Africa has lagged far behind in the march to federation, and successive federal schemes have fretted rather than healed the racial sore.

Unity was the first ideal of Cape statesmen, but the events that culminated in 1854 put an end to that. Then came Sir George Grey, fresh from federating New Zealand, to a land of even fiercer provincialism and more dangerous native inhabitants. So well did he rule the Kaffirs on his eastern border, that in 1858 the Free State, sick of Basuto wars, made overtures for a federal alliance with the parent colony. Grey flung himself heart and soul into the scheme. He had already been urging some such plan upon the authorities in London, and had stirred them

Grey's scheme of Federation, 1858.

to the point of enquiring if it could be carried out on British territory, and what effect it would have on the two Boer republics. This result encouraged him so much that his hopes ran away with him: he sent off home a considered scheme of federation on New Zealand lines, and before a reply could be received had, on his own responsibility, laid before the Cape Parliament the propositions of the Free State Volksraad. The British Ministry felt it was being "rushed," and there are few things a British Ministry likes less. Grey was recalled: and though, on his arrival off the English coast, he unexpectedly found himself reinstated by a new Secretary of State, his scheme disappeared and his hopes were quite destroyed. His successor, however, never ceased to keep the idea before the eyes of reluctant officials at home, and at last drew from one of them (the Duke of Buckingham, Colonial Secretary in the Disraeli Ministry of 1868) an admission that it might be politic to consider seriously any new overtures from the Boer States.

Sir P. Wodehouse, Governor, 1861-70.

But the Free State was now not so eager for our alliance. It was not best pleased at our annexation of Basutoland; and on its western border, too, causes for irritation were springing up. In 1867 diamonds were found near the junction of the Orange and Vaal rivers, and within a couple of years the country for miles round was full of eager diggers. The fork between the two rivers was Orange Free State territory: north-west of the Vaal there was a district to which the Free State, the Transvaal, Waterboer,* and the Batlapin, all laid claim, while none of them had really looked after it. The lawlessness of its mining-camps required instant regulation, and the Cape authorities determined to assert Britain's

Kimberley diggings opened, 1870.

Sir H. Barkly, Governor, 1870-77.

* Son of the original Waterboer.

responsibility for the peace of South Africa exactly as Lord Hastings had asserted it for Rajputana more than fifty years before. Mr Keate, the Governor of Natal, was set to arbitrate between the Transvaal and the natives about the disputed territory: he took occasion, on the evidence that came before him, to give Waterboer not only the districts west of the Vaal, but a slice also of Free State country in the fork, which included nearly all the newly-opened diamond fields. The Griqua chief at once asked for annexation to Britain, and Griqualand West was proclaimed a British dependency. The Free State complained loudly: it had not been represented in the arbitration court, and Waterboer's claims were so vapoury that they were disallowed by the first land court held in the new colony: whereupon the Home Government, in which Lord Carnarvon was then Minister for the Colonies, had at last the courage to assume its rightful position, and to assert the necessity of Britain's control over the diamond-fields on the ground that we are the paramount power in southern Africa. The Free State received a money compensation of £90,000, and was freed from the difficulty which in later years troubled its northern neighbour—that of adapting the simple politics of a farming community to the swirl and welter of a modern mining town.

The Keate award, Oct. 1871.

The Convention of 1876.

As the goldfields brought responsible government to Australia, so the diamond-fields brought it to the Cape —but not altogether with the goodwill of the people concerned, who connected it with the current British policy of withdrawing imperial troops from every self-governing colony. It was, indeed, not so much an according of power by Britain to grown-up sons as a last attempt to shift the burdens of Empire to younger shoulders: and the colonists knew it, and re-

1872.

sented it. But in 1874 the second Disraeli Government came into power at home, after a political campaign in which its chief had laid special stress on the importance of helping, not snubbing, the colonies: and Lord Carnarvon, who had given Canada its Dominion Act, became Colonial Secretary. He, of course, welcomed the suggestions made by Sir Henry Barkly (following in the steps of Wodehouse and Grey) for a confederation of South Africa which should be the natural consequence of the newly-granted self-government. Unluckily the Free State was still sullen, and the local Ministry at Capetown had learnt too well the lesson of anti-Imperialism which previous Colonial Secretaries had been so eager to teach them. Also Lord Carnarvon sent out Mr Froude, that eminent but perhaps too imaginative historian, on a curiously ill-defined errand of investigation, during which he managed to set the Cape Colony by the ears and stir up the always latent hopes of recalcitrant Boerdom for independence. These were grave difficulties, but the English statesman did his best to meet them: he openly declared that he would force nothing on any one—there should be no federation except by the spontaneous action of the communities concerned: and he chose as the new Governor a man no whit behind D'Urban and Grey in capacity—perhaps the superior of both in statesmanship—Henry Bartle Frere.

Lord Carnarvon

actively favours federation.

B. The Unquiet Transvaal.

But more pressing than any constitutional reform was the problem of the so-called State beyond the Vaal River. Its career had from the first been one of turmoil. For years two rival Volksraads defied

each other from Potchefstroom and Lydenburg,* and it was only in 1864 that unity was attained under Marthinus Pretorius, son of the greater Andries. On three frontiers continual hostilities with the natives threatened the general peace of South Africa: even with their own kin in the Free State these more restless Boers could not get on quietly. Slaveholding was a common thing outside the few towns: the nominal Government at Pretoria disclaimed and denounced it, but then that Government was for practical purposes no more than nominal. The only orders it could issue with a chance of being obeyed were orders to go on commando against neighbouring Kaffir tribes. It made up for this by assuming to itself great powers as against the outside world. It demanded to be allowed its own Minister at Berlin. It claimed a protectorate over Swaziland, and talked about annexing Delagoa Bay. Anarchic and bankrupt, it challenged every Kaffir chief within reach: and from Khama and Lobengula and Cetywayo alike complaints of it came to Capetown, coupled with threats of retaliation.

The Disturbers of Peace.

In 1876 it picked a quarrel with Sekukuni, who from almost impregnable fastnesses in the north-east watched the new goldfields of Lydenburg, the home of English miners. This time even the order for commandos was disobeyed, and President Burgers had to arm a body of mercenaries mainly attracted by the hope of loot. Sekukuni's success, and the cold-blooded ferocity of his assailants, were noised abroad among the Kaffir tribes; from the Kei to the Limpopo there was talk of war and the wiping out of the white man. The British Government could not

War against Sekukuni, 1876.

* At one time there were actually four, Utrecht and the Zoutpansberg maintaining their own rulers.

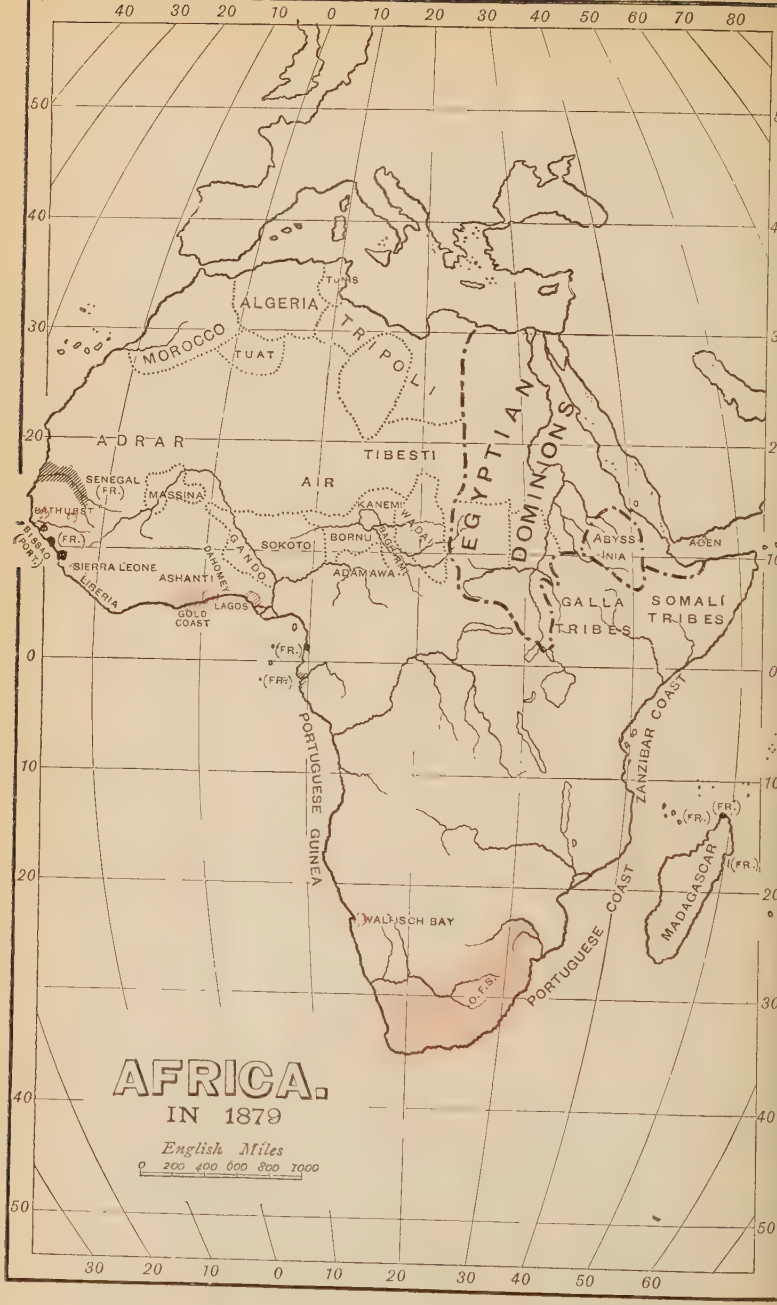
afford to let this rumour grow, and Lord Carnarvon determined to meet the danger at its source in Pretoria itself. For the work in hand he chose the ablest diplomatist of South Africa, Theophilus Shepstone, who had been Native Agent among the Fingoes under Napier and among the Natal Kaffirs since 1845—who now was Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal, and the one man who could at all influence the arrogant and suspicious Zulu king. To him was issued a Royal Commission, empowering him to enquire into the Transvaal disturbances, and, if necessary, to bring the territory under British rule. At the end of the year Shepstone left Natal, with an escort of twenty-five police: for three months he lived in Pretoria, taking stock of public opinion, and watching the Boer Assembly's futile attempts at reform; then, breaking silence, he proclaimed the dissolution of the Republic, the annexation of the Transvaal, and its constitution as a British colony with its own laws and legislature. The Boer President "saved face," as the Chinese say, by a formal protest: his second in command, Paul Kruger, went to London to beg for a restoration of independence; but Lord Carnarvon had grasped as no Minister had grasped before him (and very few since) the all-important fact that in native matters South Africa was already a single community, and was not inclined to let Boer weakness encourage a general Bantu rising against the white man. The annexation was confirmed, and Shepstone remained in Pretoria as administrator of the Government.

Sir Theophilus Shepstone.

The Transvaal annexed, Apr. 12, 1877.

Meanwhile Sir Bartle Frere had reached Capetown. He was accustomed to high command, had done good work during the Indian Mutiny, and had afterwards been Lieutenant-Governor of

Sir Bartle Frere, Governor, 1877-81.



To face page 329.

Bombay. His mission in South Africa was to unify it as India was unified: he conceived a great assemblage of states, British and non-British, each self-governing within its own borders, all protected by the paramount power against outside attack. Therefore, first of all, there must be peace and the prospect of peace within; and the Kaffirs were restless everywhere. Sekukuni was not subdued: the Basutos were stirring uneasily amid their mountains: the Kosa tribes had renewed their strength and were in open rebellion on the Kei. Behind them all lowered the Zulu power built up again from its ruins by Panda and his son Cetywayo. This king had been a friend of the English as long as he could hope for their support against the Transvaal Boers: when the Transvaal became English he found himself cooped up in a narrow territory, and prepared to make room for his people as his ancestors had done. Frere crushed the Kosa revolt, and turned on the Zulus with demands that their army should be disbanded and the king's coronation-promises fully carried out. An ominous silence answered his demands. British troops invaded Zululand: a dramatic defeat at Isandhlwana (redeemed by the heroic defence of the Rorke's Drift hospital) for a time demoralized both the army and the colonists of Natal; then, recovering itself, the little force pushed on upon Cetywayo's capital, Ulundi, allowed the Zulu impis to break themselves in vain charges on its hollow square, and with a brilliant cavalry charge shattered for ever that warrior nation which had been for more than seventy years the terror of South Africa.

Morosi's rebellion, 1879-80.

Last Kaffir war, 1877-8.

Zulu war, 1879.

Jan. 22.

July 4.

We broke the French power in North America, and lost the United States. Kruger and his Boers were in

a mind to copy Adams and the men of Massachusetts. Chelmsford had crushed the Zulus, Wolseley stormed the stronghold of Sekukuni: Shepstone, whom the Boers knew and respected, was replaced by a ruler less sympathetic and a good deal of a martinet, and the Gladstone Ministry had come into power in England. Sir Bartle Frere was in unmerited disgrace: his own chief, Lord Carnarvon, had left the Conservative Cabinet in 1878, owing to a dispute about British policy in Turkey, and his successor, Sir Michael Hicks Beach, was no enthusiast in colonial affairs. The times were full of confusion. England as a whole had not yet woke up from the dreams of the sixties, that promised her the commercial autocracy of the world at a price of political quietism and non-interference beyond the bounds of the home islands. The Disraeli Ministry, it seemed to our unimaginative middle classes, had dragged the nation into futile wars with Zulu and Afghan, while entangling it at the same time in the complications of Turkish misrule. It was the St Martin's summer of mid-century doctrinarianism —the last triumph of political *a priori* theorists over the scientific investigator of conditions. The years had come upon us that began with the disgrace of Frere and ended with the death of Gordon.

Nov. 1879.

The anti-Imperial reaction of 1880.

In the Transvaal malcontents relied on the fervent support of English Radicals, and the well-disposed could only remember with anxious foreboding how again and again Britain had backed down in South African matters. Their anxiety was justified: we backed down once more. We irritated the Boers by giving them a Crown Colony constitution instead of the self-government we promised: our Ministers talked of them as oppressed patriots, and made a half-hearted attempt to treat them as rebels. On Dingaan's Day,

The Transvaal revolts, Dec. 16, 1880.

1880, the South African Republic was again proclaimed, and every British garrison in the Transvaal found itself besieged. Sir George Colley, the Governor of Natal, whose Indian experience had taught him the value of immediate action, marched at once with a small body of troops to relieve the garrisons, refusing the help of Natal colonists lest he should embitter the local feeling between the two white races. A larger force of Boers blocked the pass of Laing's Nek: failing to force his way through, he adopted the Indian strategy of seizing by night the hills above the enemy's camp. But he took no guns with him, and too few men, and in any case the Boers were dourer men than Pathans. Majuba all but ended the war in our favour: yet the younger Boers replied to Colley's daring with a no less bold attack on his half-secured position, which killed him and drove his men back to camp: and the British Prime Minister, reversing in this as in all else the policy of his predecessors, allowed the struggle to end with unrepaired defeat, a course which half England might call generosity, but which South Africa from end to end,—enraged or exulting according to race—knew only as bitter humiliation.

Majuba Hill, Feb. 27, 1881.

Majuba was the merest skirmish in itself, for the forces on both sides together did not amount to six hundred men. But this very insignificance made its effects the more startling, and convinced the triumphant Boers of the cowardice and weakness of Britain. In the first peace negotiations they were willing to accept a diminished territory, all lands east of lat. 30° remaining in our possession: the Convention of Pretoria allowed them their original limits, merely for the asking: within two years they had crossed the boundaries east and west, and were setting up filibuster-States on Zulu and Bechuana territory. While

Convention of Pretoria, Aug. 1881.

this was still unknown in England, Paul Kruger,—first, last, and only President of the reinstated Republic—arrived in London to negotiate a new Convention which should remove such appearance of subjection to England as had been left in the deed signed at Pretoria. The British Ministry was occupied with domestic affairs, and conceded as much as it could afford to. The "Transvaal State" became the "South African Republic"; the British Resident at Pretoria was reduced to a mere Consul; the absolute control of external relations, and the right to move troops through the Transvaal territory, were given up for a power of veto on treaties concluded by the Republic with foreign powers; more liberal boundaries were conceded on the western border; and the obnoxious words "suzerainty" and "Suzerain Power" were not mentioned in the new document—an evasive omission which led to much argument later, the Boers asserting that omission meant cancellation, while the British view was that nothing could be cancelled except by express mention of the fact.

Convention of London, Feb. 1884.

Our weakness was well requited. Before President Kruger's promise to adhere to the new boundaries was many months old, news came that his Boers had established themselves in three places beyond those limits. The "New Republic" formed itself in the heart of Zululand: Stellaland and Goshen claimed independence on lands already ceded by Batlapin chiefs to the protectorate of Britain. The most peace-loving of Ministries could not bear this in silence: an armed force under Sir Charles Warren dispersed the Goshenites and exacted the submission of the Stellalanders: and the protectorate of Bechuanaland was extended northwards to latitude 22°, thus forbidding any further exodus of Transvaal Boers except at the risk

Warren's expedition, 1885.

of open war. The "New Republic," however, was recognized with a lessened area in 1886, and in 1888 became part of the Transvaal itself.

C. The Rush for Africa.

Of all European sovereigns Leopold of Belgium was the one who had least to do. His State was guaranteed by Europe against foreign oppression, and its internal politics were on the same scale as its territory. When in 1875 Henry Stanley, "the man who had found Livingstone," started from the Zanzibar coast with the avowed purpose of crossing Africa, King Leopold seized on this new excitement as an opportunity for doing something to distinguish himself, and "took up" Africa much as other men take up amateur photography or chemistry. Under his presidency a conference of geographers and explorers from all the great European nations met at Brussels, and decided to form the International African Association. Committees of each nation were to collect subscriptions: the central Association was to do the work of civilization in the name of United Europe.

Leopold of Belgium.

The Brussels Conference, Sept. 1876.

The scheme was premature. The Association did little, and at a great cost. The Committees were more successful, but less unselfish. Britain refused to take any political action, and confined herself to exploration and missions in the Lake country. De Brazza, agent of the French Committee, turned his civilizing tour through the Gaboon *hinterland* into one for annexing new regions to France. Germany was active on the east of Tanganyika and on the southern tributaries

of the Kasai. The Belgians sent Stanley back to the river he had just discovered to organize the Congo State, in the meanwhile turning the International Association into a Congo Committee, and that in 1882 into the Congo Association (also nominally International). Portugal woke up from her three hundred years' dream, and claimed ownership of the Congo mouth, bargaining with England for joint control of the great river's trade.

1879.

And now with a rush Germany came into the field—a brand-new Power, with a good deal of the *parvenu's* desire to assert himself, determined to rival Britain over-seas as it rivalled Russia on the Continent, and to have all colonial luxuries that complete the establishment of a first-class empire. For years it had waited for such an opportunity.* In 1876 it had cast longing eyes on the Transvaal, but later events made action in that quarter inadvisable till the air was quiet again: now, with South African feeling morosely anti-English, and the Majuba ministry still in power in London, the opportunity was too good to be lost. During the seventies had been outlined the great design of a "Cape to Cairo" German strip, and the time was come to carry it into execution. "No opposition," said Prince Bismarck, "is apprehended from the British Government, and the machinations of colonial authorities must be prevented." Accordingly he allowed a Bremen merchant to hoist the German flag at Angra Pequena, between the Orange River and Walfisch Bay, which latter place Sir Bartle Frere had luckily persuaded the previous Ministry to annex in 1878.† For a year Bismarck

Germany arrives.

Germany's annexations: Angra Pequena, May 2, 1883;

* As far back as 1843 there were projects for a German settlement at St Lucia Bay.

† The Cape Ministry had urged annexation of the whole district from the Cunene south, but had not cared to share the expense.

played with our Ministers, assuring them that he had not "the least design to establish any footing in South Africa": then orders were issued from Berlin, and the whole scheme became plain. From Angra Pequena on one side and St Lucia Bay on the other tongues of German territory were to be thrust inland to the Transvaal, barring the Cape Colony from any northward expansion: further north similar annexations were to make a second broad bar across Africa from Zanzibar to the Niger. Everywhere the German grip fastened on lands already British in all but name, while French claims were treated with the utmost respect,* and France was encouraged to make trouble for us in Egypt. The audacity of the whole conception paralysed the Home Government, but our local officials did their best: St Lucia Bay was saved, the Niger delta occupied just in time, and the Zanzibar enterprise hampered enough † to give us some say in the now inevitable distribution of the East African coast.

Attempt on St Lucia Bay, Nov. 1884; Togoland, July 5, 1884; Cameroons July 12; Usagara, Nov.-Dec.

Dec. 1884.

July 1884.

Meanwhile in Europe negotiations were going on which resulted in the Berlin Conference of 1884-5. This assemblage of delegates from all the European states, ostensibly called to discuss questions connected with King Leopold's Congo enterprise, resolved itself into a body for drawing up

The Berlin Conference, Nov. 1884-Jan. 1885.

* The Cameroons' chiefs had for years petitioned us to declare a protectorate over their territory, and Zanzibar, long ruled according to the advice of Sir John Kirk, had been practically offered to us in 1878. As for Bismarck's courtesy to the French, notice that he at once repudiated German flag-hoistings north of Sierra Leone and south of the Rio Campo, and settled boundaries in Togoland on the French side long before he did so on the English side.

† On November 24, 1884, Bismarck declared that "Germany was not endeavouring to obtain a protectorate over Zanzibar"; and in January 1885 Earl Granville called the German Chancellor's attention to our special rights in that quarter.

the rules of a new game—the Partition of Africa. The principal ones were these—that along the coast no claim would be recognized unless the claimant Power effectively occupied and controlled the district in question: but that behind any effectively occupied coast-strip a wide region of the interior might be delimited by treaties, in which the coast Power should have uncontested influence and a reasonable time for extending its sway over the native inhabitants. Under this arrangement the old blankness of the African map soon disappeared beneath a patchwork of colouring. France seized the chance of connecting Algeria with the Senegal colony: Portugal endeavoured to appropriate its unexplored * *hinterland* between Angola and Mozambique: Italy, as yet without a colony, seized a strip on the Red Sea and another north of the Zanzibar coast, and hoped to join them in the same way by a sphere of influence stretching across Abyssinia. Britain alone, unaccustomed to this direct State action, and still a little dazed by the general scramble, was for the moment at a loss: but her missionaries and her traders saved her. The Portuguese claim threatened to swallow up all the Zambesi valley and Nyassaland, districts sacred to the memory of Livingstone. Germany was ready to absorb our newer missions in Uganda. And every merchant knew that while British annexation left the trade of other nations equally unhampered with our own, regions which fell under French or German or Portuguese control were at once closed to British trade as far as duties could close them.

The General Act signed, Feb. 24, 1885.

Africa partitioned.

So. Africa from the blankest has been turned into

* Livingstone had travelled much in the Zambesi valley, but the Portuguese had paid no attention to it. Before Livingstone's time the journey from coast to coast had been made three times only, by native or Arab traders.

almost the gaudiest of maps. Yet the scheme of its colouring is not hard to unravel. Its bulging western line includes lands almost entirely French, save where we hold the lower Gambia and a compact territory surrounding the lower Niger valley, and between them two coastal strips with a certain amount of back country to bring in trade. In the main body of the continent we have built up, on the Cape Colony as pedestal, a pillar of dominion fifteen hundred miles high, cut off from the tropical coast-line by German and Portuguese possessions. Above that is the central block of the Congo Free State: and, making a half-arch round it from a base on the Indian coast, our colony of East Africa meets the other half-arch of the French Gaboon so that they stretch away side by side northwards to merge indefinitely at last, ours into Egypt, the French Colony into the backlands of Tripoli. A nominal Italian protectorate (of southern Somaliland) rests against the curve of our half-arch, and the French half is similarly burdened with the German Cameroons, which indeed at one point actually cuts off the French Congo from the rest of the French dominions — in which the greater part of Morocco is now included. Spain, besides her almost useless Rio de Oro colony, owns a patch of Morocco behind Tangier; Italy has added to Erythrea on the Red Sea the more profitable possession of Tripoli. Abyssinia alone remains unannexed.

The new map of Africa.

D. Chartered Companies.

Nations of the European continent, crowded against each other along boundary lines as artificial as those of our own counties, find unity and protection in an idealization of the State, and still appeal for State aid and guidance when they stray beyond the limits of their native parish. To the more indi-

Britain the colonizer.

vidualist Briton, whose islands are merely his home-farm are his so far as he can put them to use. He does not greatly love, when left to himself, the possession of soil he cannot utilize—though he has been of late forced into much annexation of this sort, in order to guard himself against being excluded in the future from tracts as yet undeveloped. But in these tracts, where the Continental instinct is to govern, the British is to use: the one scheme of development proceeds by way of officials and subsidies, the other by way of trade and settlement. To free himself from officialdom the British trader will only too gladly burden himself with expenses of government that in any other nation would fall on the general tax-payer. And so, when after nearly a hundred years of comparative quiet the competition for colonial empires became again the rage in Christendom, England remembered that her merchants had of old been princes indeed, and had recourse to her tried instrument of colonization, the trading company with sovereign powers.

East Africa.

On the east coast of Africa matters were urgent and extremely tangled. There Germany, the most audacious and most irresponsible of our rivals (for Germans had no experience of colonies, and were still light-hearted about the duties their existence entailed), was reducing to chaos the none too definite jurisdictions of our ally and *protégé*, the Sultan of Zanzibar. He claimed dominion from the coast at least to the great lakes: the Germans insisted that his influence was purely coastal, and were borne out in their contention by an international boundary commission of 1886, on which Colonel (now Lord) Kitchener was the representative of England. This was followed by an Anglo-German agreement which left the Sultan a ten-mile strip of

1886.

coast from the Tana to the Rovuma, admitted that the interior was open to independent colonization, and divided it into British and German spheres by the line from Wanga to the Victoria Nyanza, which has not since been altered. This line was extended across and beyond the lake at a later date, to settle the questions involved in three sets of unofficial treaties—those made with the natives by Karl Peters in Uganda, by Stanley to the south-west of it, and by Swann at the northern end of Tanganyika. At the same time Germany withdrew from the lands north of the Tana, where at Witu a German trading company had attempted to effect a lodgment; and the British sphere, thus enlarged to the north-east, was by a treaty of 1891 with Italy bounded in that direction by the river Jub.

Boundary questions.

1890.

In the territory thus defined the Imperial British East Africa Company found more employment than profit. This Company was in the main the creation of William Mackinnon, to whom (being chairman of the British India S. N. Company, which traded to Zanzibar) the Sultan had in 1878 and again in 1881 offered the administration of his dominions. An association, formed by this gentleman in 1887 to lease the Sultan's ten-mile strip between Wanga and the Tana, began at once to secure its influence inland for at least two hundred miles, and on September 3, 1888, became a Chartered Company under the more imposing title used above. Mombasa was made the seat of Government, the prevailing institution of slavery was checked and regulated as far as possible, and a railway was projected to the Victoria Nyanza.

The affairs of Ibea

The treaty of 1890 enlarged the Company's sphere of action in an unexpected and not altogether welcome

fashion. Uganda, an independent native kingdom much affected by missionaries, had been somewhat unsettled by the attempt of Peters to bring it under a German protectorate, and found itself at the end of 1890 in the midst of a bitter civil war, in which the Protestant and Roman Catholic mission converts fought each other less for religious reasons than as partizans of English and French supremacy. The British Government, urged to take action on behalf of British missions, persuaded the Company to undertake the administration of the disturbed districts, and Captain Lugard was despatched to enforce order. During the next two years he managed to bring under control not only Uganda itself, but the adjoining kingdom of Unyoro and the remainder of the British sphere south-westwards: but the work had strained too severely the Company's finances, and it determined to withdraw within its own proper boundaries. For a while this step was suspended, at the express request of the British Government, until Sir Gerald Portal, our Consul-General at Zanzibar, should visit Uganda and report on the whole situation: then withdrawal began, first from the Lake country, then from Witu and the northern coast-line; until in 1895 even the Sultan's original concessions were given up, and the Imperial British East Africa Company ceased to exist.

and Uganda.

Sir Gerald Portal's report, made at the end of 1893, decided the home authorities to maintain Uganda as a separate British protectorate, and this decision was formally notified on June 18, 1894, the boundaries of the protectorate being somewhat extended in 1896. The rest of the mainland within our sphere of influence now forms the East African Protectorate (so-called; it is practically a Crown Colony, with Executive and Legislative Councils) — for the Sultan was long ago

persuaded to convert both our and the German "leases" of his ten-mile strip into definite transfers of territory; and his only remaining possessions, the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, form yet a third protectorate under the British flag.

In West Africa our position in 1885 was at once less challenged and more secure. Togoland from first to last has inconvenienced us comparatively little; and the north-west boundary of the German Cameroons, which at one time seemed likely to give trouble, was settled diplomatically by a series of straight lines that took no close account of conflicting treaties with native chiefs. France, not Germany, has been our active neighbour in this quarter; and for some years after the Berlin Conference no cause of quarrel arose with France. For it so happened that in 1879 George Taubmann Goldie had amalgamated the British trading interests on the lower Niger into the United (two years later renamed the National) African Company: and when two French companies, stimulated by Gambetta, set up rival stations in the same regions, they encountered such brisk trade-competition that they were glad to be bought out. In the Berlin Act, therefore, Great Britain is specifically recognized as controlling the lower Niger. Soon there was rumour of a German attempt to outflank the African Company's eastern posts, and gain influence in the Central Sudan; at once a well-known explorer, Mr Joseph Thomson, was sent to negotiate with the rulers of Gando and Sokoto, and returned with treaties that acknowledged the Company's protectorate over those important states and all their dependencies. In July of 1886 Sir George Goldie reaped the due reward of his enterprise; his Company received its charter under a new name, the

West Africa.

Royal Niger Company, and set itself to develop its territories and extend the area of peaceful settlement among the slave-holding, slave-raiding Emirs of the Niger valley. From Mombasa a State-owned railway runs to the eastern shore of the Victoria Nyanza, opening up on the way cool highlands fit for permanent settlement by Europeans; while great areas of more typically tropical country, at present very sparsely inhabited, make the East African Protectorate a probable home in the future for India's surplus population.

The larger politics of West Africa bear a curious resemblance to those of western and southern Asia. There we have seen a British Company establishing itself in the south on a great river delta, among a packed Hindu population dominated by an aristocracy of Mohammedan invaders: and we have seen that Company forced to extend its influence far beyond its original desires by the approach from the north-west of another European power, militant, agressive, embodying in its own armies the warlike tribes of the central Asian Khanates. Substitute the Niger for the Ganges, the Fulah rule over millions of Hausas for the Mogul rule over millions of Hindus; put France for Russia, and the Senegalese for the Turkomans: and West African history becomes a *précis* of South Asian. For in those regions at least French colonization was no idea of yesterday: two hundred years ago pioneers were pushing up the Senegal in search of Timbuctoo: and although no steady progress was made until Faidherbe in 1855-65 consolidated French dominion in Senegambia, yet the dream of African empire had never ceased to visit at least the slumbers of French statesmen.

A historic parallel.

Between 1880 and 1890 the dream was made a reality. From the Upper Senegal to the Upper Niger,

and from that river southwards to its sources—where possible, to the coast—expeditions fought their way and left behind them the elements of permanent rule. Developing the *hinterland* doctrine to its uttermost, France claimed the monopoly of expansion east from Senegambia and south from Algeria; and in 1890 a definite arrangement was found necessary by which we allowed our colonies of the Gambia and Sierra Leone to be completely enclosed by French territory, while we thought to safeguard the eastern settlements by accepting a line, from Say on the Niger to Barua on Lake Tchad, which should mark the southern limit of our neighbour's sphere. The value of this line was, however, seriously discounted by the other side's interpretation of its use. It marked, said France's active young officers, the limit south of which they might not go—from the north: that they should work in below it from the west or east was in their eyes no breach of the agreement. Accordingly in 1897 Britain woke up suddenly to the fact that French expeditions had spread themselves over all the backlands of the Gold Coast and Lagos, and were occupying districts on the Lower Niger, well to the south-east of Say, that had already been formally put under a British protectorate. Our local officials in their turn made expeditions, and occupied all the remaining points of vantage: at two points in the disputed region the flags of both nations floated over the same town, and only the utmost tactfulness prevented an armed collision. After much negotiation matters were settled by another treaty that gave us, scarcely our rights, but at any rate our deserts: for we lost much country that was properly within our sphere of influence, but which we had not troubled to bring

French Activity.

Anglo-French agreement, Aug. 5, 1890.

Anglo-French Convention, June 14, 1898.

definitely under control. Even then there sprang up within a year a still more perilous boundary dispute to the eastward of Lake Tchad: but the story of Fashoda and the Bahr-el-Ghazal must be told in a later section.

Through all this turmoil the Niger Company attended as strictly as possible to its work, not only developing trade but taking sternly in hand the barbarous monarchs who ruled within its sphere, notably those of Nupé and Ilorin, and finding time to abolish slavery once and for all within its territories. But in the French disputes its double position as trader and British representative led to some awkwardness: "France at least bases her claims," said that country's partizans, "on treaties signed by officers, not by brokers." So, when the immediate troubles were over, a new *régime* began in West Africa. The Company that had won for England so wide a dominion surrendered its Charter and became again a private trader. Its inland sphere, the domain of Fulahs among Hausas, became one protectorate under Colonel Lugard, whose work in Nigeria deserved no less praise and won more than his work in Uganda.* The regions of the Niger delta, home of innumerable disconnected Pagan tribes, were united with the coast districts between the Benin and the Rio del Rey, that had been since 1884 under direct British rule; since May, 1906, the former colony and protectorate of Lagos have been absorbed in the same amalgamation, and Southern Nigeria stretches from Dahomey to the Cameroons. A clause in the Convention of 1898 established equal trade-rights for

June 19, 1897.

1899.

The Niger territories rearranged.

* It is interesting to note that Sir F. Lugard's successor is a Canadian, Sir Percy Girouard, notable for his fine organization of the railway traffic during the South African war. The Empire is beginning to use all its sons for governing, not the island Britons only.

To face page 344.

French and English alike from Liberia to Lake Tchad. As a consequence Britain and France—and to a lesser degree, Germany—are thrusting railways inland from nearly a dozen points on the seaboard to tap the wealth of trade that circulates behind the tropical coast-belt. France is well ahead, with lines creeping in towards the navigable waters of the Niger from Cape Verd and French Guinea and the Ivory Coast and Dahomey—besides the completed line that joins the navigable Niger to the navigable Senegal, and provides a continuous trade-route through the French *hinterland* between St Louis and Northern Nigeria. Of British enterprises one starts from Freetown and is intended to ramify over Sierra Leone; one from Sekondi taps the Ashanti highlands; one penetrates the back-lands of Lagos on its way through Nupé to Bida beyond the Niger. Boundary troubles are a thing of the past: the future history of West Africa will relate, on the one hand, the exploitation of its astounding wealth, on the other, the suppression of local tyrannies and of the now illegal but still existing slave-trade.

Railway enterprise.

E. The Nile Valley.

The Mediterranean States of Africa are, as has already been said, for the most part cut off from the main continent by desert wastes. But through those wastes at their eastern end the Nile thrusts its way from the Great Lakes to the sea, and links the history of its delta and lower valley indissolubly with that of the lands about its source. Egypt *is* the Nile: to control the flow of its waters is to control the fate of its people.

Mehemet Ali knew this well enough, and took care to

secure Kassala and Khartoum, while despatching an
1823. expedition southwards that reached the site of
1840. Gondokoro. In that direction his successors extended their rule, getting much profit out of the slaves and ivory that could easily be procured throughout those regions. But slave-trading was in the end no less disastrous to the eastern Sudan than it had been to the western, and the Pasha Ismail in 1869 sent Sir Samuel Baker to organize Egyptian rule on the Great Lakes and suppress the Arab slave-raids in those parts. Baker was followed in 1874 by Charles Gordon, already known as a fighter and organizer by his work in China during the Taeping rebellion. He in two years' governorship of Equatoria, and three more of absolute rule over the whole Sudan, had the slave-trade crushed, an army in formation, a deficit of £250,000 extinguished, order maintained in the Nile provinces from Wadelai to Khartoum. But in the meantime Ismail had fallen, entangled in the complications of his ruinous borrowings, and the new Khedive was a weakling swayed partly by native ministers who hated Gordon's incorruptibility, partly by European financiers who had no interest in Egypt beyond securing full payment of their loans. So with Gordon's retirement in 1879 the Sudan fell back into Orientalism: and Egypt itself, sweated Eastern-fashion to satisfy the demands of Western creditors, impatient of masters that were foreigners, and of a syndicate rule that is always less human than that of a monarch, gradually worked itself up into that hysterical rebellion-fit that we know as the revolt of Arabi.

Egypt and the Sudan.

The dual control.

England and France had for some years been dominating Egyptian politics with a system of joint control: but when the Gladstone Government suddenly determined to quieten the country by

The Egyptian War.

force, and to that end ordered the bombardment of Alexandria and despatched nearly 40,000 men to the Levant. French co-operation ceased, and we took Egypt in hand unhampered by coadjutors. Arabi's bolt was soon shot: his army was surprised in its trenches at Tel-el-Kebir, and an unresting pursuit gave Cairo into our hands. Europe awaited the declaration of a British protectorate. Instead came the announcement that England would withdraw as soon as the state of the country permitted: in the meantime she would—give the Khedive advice. Of course advice that must be followed is merely another name for orders: but it is a much more irritating name, and one liable to misconceptions.

Sept. 13, 1882.

Lord Granville's despatch, Jan. 3, 1883.

One piece of advice we had to give that brought in its train unwonted tragedies. While Arabi was still terrorizing the Khedive the Sudan was astir with more dangerous revolution. To the slave-dealers of Darfur and Kordofan, incensed alike with Egyptian Pashas who robbed them and British Governors who freed their slaves, there came the Mahdi, the Messiah of all Moslems, promising victory and lordship and the blotting out of unbelievers. The tribes rallied to him, and took El Obeid, the capital of Kordofan. From Omdurman 10,000 men, the remnants of an army, were sent down under Hicks Pasha to stay his progress—England the adviser standing by, because we advised about Egypt only, and this was a matter of the Sudan. The 10,000 marched into the desert, and were cut to pieces. Sennaar joined the revolt: it spread like a bush-fire into the Bahr-el-Ghazal, south to the Great Lakes, east towards Suakin.

Rise of Mahdiism.

Nov. 5, 1883.

Then, because a new "adviser" had arrived at Cairo, we stood by no longer. Sir Evelyn Baring, better known as Lord Cromer, took matters in hand too late to

prevent the loss of Hicks Pasha's force, but not too late, he hoped, to prevent further loss. The Khedive was told that he must abandon the Sudan. Already more than half of it had abandoned him, cutting off Lupton and Emin, the loyal governors of the extreme south and west. Egypt had neither army nor funds to recover the vast province, which had always (except under Gordon) been a drain on her resources. And so, reviving a suggestion which the Egyptian Government had previously rejected, the British Ministry despatched Gordon to Khartoum to arrange for the proposed retreat. He went eagerly, throwing aside all other work, to the help of his old comrades: he made recommendations, and they were not carried out—requests, and they were refused: at last he was shut up in the scarcely defensible city, hemmed in by the fiercest warriors of Africa, while for months and months a late-sent and only half-organized British force toiled up the Nile and across the desert to his rescue. Then, at the moment of relief, Khartoum fell. Two days saved anywhere along the line of march would have saved Gordon: that we knew, but nothing beyond it for many years. Only, we at last knew Gordon. His friends, the men who served under him, had known him well: his work for the Empire was the training, the inspiring of its builders. But the long tragedy of that lonely defence in the desert, the sudden tragedy and mystery of his death, concentred on him the emotion of Britain and Greater Britain: his name stirred in the common heart of the race a sense of the best it could be, the best it ought to do.

Gordon at Khartoum.

Nations, however, are touched by emotion more readily than ministries, and the army that could not save its hero was not allowed to avenge him. After all, we were not ready to reconquer and hold Khartoum permanently;

and trouble was threatening from Russian encroachments on the Afghan border, so that it became important to have Britain's whole fighting force free for use in a big war, if necessary. Before the year was out Egypt had shrunk like a snail into its shell, and owned nothing south or east of Wady Halfa but the Red Sea port of Suakin. Upon these shrunken boundaries the sea of Mahdiism beat angrily for four years, until at Toski in 1889 fellah troops mastered the Dervish attack and slew the greatest of the Dervish war-leaders: so that for seven years more the frontier had rest, while matters of high politics were settled on Nile and Thames, and the Mahdiist tribes tore each other to pieces beyond the pale. But meanwhile Italy had entangled herself in rash enterprises on the northern borders of Abyssinia, and in the ensuing war was badly defeated at Adua; within a fortnight London had issued orders to Cairo, and the long-prayed-for southward march began. That year saw the Egyptian army at Dongola: in the next, Berber marked the limit of advance, and a railway had been thrust to it across the desert from Wady Halfa: the third was the year of victory final and crushing, the grim and great slaughter of Omdurman, the flags of England and Egypt floating side by side over the ruins of Khartoum. Hard on reconquest came reorganization and the beginnings of a new Sudan; for we have set up many monuments to Gordon, and the greatest of them shall be the land he died for.

The full tide and ebb of Mahdiism.

The thirteen years of waiting had brought complications with them that made the fate of the Upper Nile a matter of European interest. Ismail's empire had stretched along the Red Sea almost to the straits, and along the great river to its parent lakes. The Dervishes swallowed up most of it, and the ambitious

ruler of Abyssinia enlarged his bounds as he found opportunity: Italy took Massowah for a permanence, and Kassala for as long as Egypt could spare it—as we have seen, it was to help Italy out of difficulties in this quarter that the advance of 1896 began. Restless officers of the Congo Free State pushed across their border into Emin's old province on the Albert Nyanza: we ourselves were minded to occupy Equatoria when once we were surely set in Uganda. More audacious, however, and more dangerous were the desires of France. While from the Senegal she was thrusting in behind us to the Lower Niger, from her Congo colony she was making haste to anticipate us on the Upper Nile—hoping, too, to clinch her hold on it with the simultaneous arrival at that goal of a French-led force from Abyssinia. We had warnings in plenty, but just then we were not taking France seriously: our statesmen contented themselves with the vague threats contained in that most diplomatic of words, "unfriendly," and busied themselves with matters of more immediate concern. Occasionally among the crowded cablegrams a line or two was given to rumours of an expedition crawling round the northern boundary of the Congo State: occasionally an indiscreet French journalist talked over-joyfully about the *Mission Marchand*. But the Briton, sure of his own strength, is a little slow to believe that another nation is deliberately "daring" him, and we could not realise that rude hands might be laid on the Nile valley in spite of our solemn warning "Hands off!" So we settled matters as amicably as might be with France in West Africa, held our own quietly at the Abyssinian court, and watched with great complacency their resistible success of Kitchener's march to Khartoum.

French designs on the Upper Nile.

Suddenly we found that the march had not ended at

Khartoum. Leaving behind the mass of his army and a garrulous company of war correspondents, the victorious general disappeared up Nile with his little fighting-fleet. There was an expectant pause: then it became known that at Fashoda a small French force, come from westward through the Bahr-el-Ghazal, was set down patiently to wait for that other French-Abyssinian force against whose arrival we had already ensured. France thrilled for a moment with the thought of war, and the wilder English spirits gave challenge in answer: but the nation as a whole saw no reason to be anything but dignified—and rather overdid it. France wisely decided to retire from Fashoda, and from all the region of the Upper Nile; but her national pride had been hurt by our attitude, which too much resembled that of a guardian rebuking his infant ward for naughtiness; and if for some years after the name of Fashoda was the watchword of French antagonism to Britain, it was not so much because she had been compelled to retire, as for the magisterial virtuousness of the expression with which we watched her go. During all these years Lord Cromer had been reorganizing Egypt's internal administration from end to end, in the face of difficulties more serious than any other British controller of a protected State has ever had to encounter. For, in the first place, Egypt was not theoretically a protected State at all. It is not one to-day. It is a tributary dependency of Turkey; the Khediviate is hereditary in a dynasty founded by Mehemet Ali at the beginning of the nineteenth century; its constitution resembles closely what, in a British colony, we should call representative government, members of both the executive and legislative bodies being native Egyptians. Only—the Khedive has a British "financial adviser." That name has for more than twenty years

Fashoda.

Internal reforms.

masked the true governor of the country, but he has had to do his real work always behind the mask: not only huge reductions in taxation, but great schemes of scientific irrigation, the reorganization of the native army, and a thorough reform of the judicial and educational systems, have been carried out under the direction of a British official who was not even a member of the Khedive's cabinet, and whose nominal duty was merely to see that Egypt paid regularly the amounts due to Europeans who had lent her previous rulers money.

The inherent awkwardness of this position was made greater by the behaviour of other European nations. France, which had taken an active interest in Egypt long before we did, and had been chiefly responsible for the construction of the Suez Canal, could not for many years reconcile herself to seeing our influence paramount at Cairo. It was, of course, the fault of her own rulers: Egyptian finances were controlled by the two nations jointly from 1876 onwards, and the fleet that was sent to put down the revolt of Arabi in May, 1882, was Anglo-French; but in July of that year the French Cabinet backed out, and Britain had to go on alone. The mistakes of a Minister, however, are easily forgotten; the resulting triumph of a foreign nation is a lasting source of irritation; and though the British Government consistently refused to proclaim a protectorate, and twice tried to arrange terms for an early withdrawal, France would not be placated, and threw difficulties in the way of whatever we proposed. Turkey also disliked the situation. Egypt remained nominally under the Sultan's suzerainty; though he was paid his tribute regularly, he could not but desire that some more active share in the country's management might be given to him. The temptation thus offered to other European nations was irresistible. If the course of

Foreign hindrances.

their diplomacy seemed to require the embarrassment of Britain, they had only to hint to France or Turkey that they, too, were dissatisfied with the situation in Egypt, and we were at once in trouble. (It was, for instance, the need of preventing Germany from giving some such hint in 1884 that led the Gladstone Ministry to abandon to that Power territory both in Africa and in New Guinea.) To make matters worse, Egyptian finance was fettered by the requirements of an international body called the *Caisse de la Dette*, without whose permission the Treasurer could not spend even his own surplus revenue; and diplomacy found this body also an efficient instrument for making Britain's position in Egypt extremely awkward.

Despite all these obstacles, Lord Cromer held steadily on his way for twenty-three years, working out with infinite patience the reforms already mentioned, and winning his reward at last when in 1904 France abandoned her jealousy, recognized the value of his work, and not only gave Britain a free hand as far as she was concerned, but helped her to do away with the tyranny of the *Caisse*. The Sudan since its reconquest has been ruled by Britain and Egypt jointly: and nothing now hampers the continued working-out of our reforms except the misunderstandings that are inevitable when a Western nation administers the affairs of an Oriental one, and the excusable but premature demands of the younger Egyptians, proud of their European education, to be left uncontrolled in governing their own land.

F. The Welding of South Africa.

The British Empire would suffer less than most if its history were written in a series of biographies: for as it is maintained by the strenuous devotion of innumerable citizens, so it was built by the unconstrainable genius of a few. It is therefore quite in keeping with the general plan of the fabric that South African history for the last twelve years should be essentially the history of one man, Cecil Rhodes—a deviser of far-reaching schemes alike in finance and statecraft, strong-willed and silent in executing them; than whom no man of the last half-century has made more bitter enemies or more devoted followers. This, indeed, is the common lot of our Empire-builders. Raleigh and Cromwell and Clive and Grey and the rest, they have worked with the tools they had, careless how their hands might roughen in the using: they have had, and displayed, the defects of their qualities: and the Briton of the home islands ranks character so high above achievements, that qualities which in India or Africa or Australia win for the notable man his comrades' love are in England liable to be overshadowed by the memory of their defects.

Empire-building.

The year 1886 was the beginning of a great transformation in South Africa. Hitherto it had been a land of flocks and herds and farms, with one patch of mineral wealth—the diamond mines of Kimberley—under British rule in a corner of the territory. Suddenly gold was found in the very centre of the pastoral region, on the summit ridge itself, in the weakest and most restless of all South African states. The loosely-framed Boer institutions, that barely sufficed to control a few thousand farmers,

Gold discovered on the Witwatersrand, 1886.

were obviously incapable of adaptation to the needs of a packed and excitable gold-mining community. Some of the leading Boers, therefore, were for suppressing the new industry and retaining their valued isolation: but Paul Kruger, to whom the gold-fields meant wealth and power and the relief of his own countrymen from taxation, preferred to encourage the influx of European capital for the exploiting of all this riches, while he could for some years, at any rate, deny to so alien and so shifting a population any share in their own and the country's government.

The discontented Boers thereupon bethought them of their hereditary remedy, and made plans to trek across the northern border into Matabeleland, where Lobengula had succeeded his father Moselekatze, and with his Matabele warriors clustered in kraals about Buluwayo dominated all the weaker tribes between the Limpopo and the Zambesi. It was a country of great expectations, coveted not by Boers only but also by Germans and Portuguese. To block their progress we hurriedly concluded with Lobengula a treaty by which he engaged to alienate no land and grant no privileges to any one without British consent. This, however, was not safeguard enough. As far as ancient claims go, the land was Portuguese: we had formally refused to admit those claims because they were not backed by effective occupation: it was necessary, therefore, that our claims should be instantly and effectively backed in that way.

The Moffat Treaty, Feb. 11, 1888.

Cecil Rhodes had instigated the Moffat Treaty, and lost no time in making practical use of it. His agents obtained from Lobengula a concession of all mineral rights in Mashonaland. When others put forward similar concessions he bargained with them, and by amalgamation built up the British South Africa

The Rudd Concession, Oct. 30, 1888.

Company; which, receiving its charter in 1889, occupied Mashonaland in 1890, and stoutly upheld British claims against Boer and Portuguese alike. Within three years came the inevitable collision with the Matabele impis, whom Lobengula found himself unable to restrain: two fights broke their organization, never so good as that of the Zulus, and Matabeleland passed under the Company's rule. Already it had been empowered by the British Government to administer large districts north of the Zambesi, that Lord Salisbury secured for Britain by treaties with Portugal and the Congo State: in 1895 they came directly under its rule—with the exception of the region around and below Lake Nyassa, which had for many years been the seat of Scottish missionary enterprise, and which was constituted a protectorate under direct Crown administration. Of the "effectiveness" of the Company's rule there can be no doubt. It opened up with roads a new tableland full of possible mines and farms. It made a railway northwards from the Cape system to Buluwayo, and another west from the Portuguese harbour of Beira up to the hills of Mashonaland. It ran telegraph lines through its territory from end to end, and across the Portuguese Zambesi-belt into Nyassaland. Till the separation in 1895 it subsidized Nyassaland with £10,000 a year. And whenever one says "it," one means its founder and prime mover, Cecil Rhodes.

The founding of Rhodesia.

British Central Africa.

But Rhodesia was only a part of his scheme. The end of all was to be a federation of South African states under the British flag—the Cape Colony, Natal, the Free State, the Transvaal, Rhodesia: and because the Cape was half Boer, the Transvaal for balance was to be made half British, while the friendship of Natal and the Free State might ease the

The rival Federation schemes.

working of the machine, and Rhodesia, English to the backbone, should ensure the predominance of the Imperial element. While the new state was in making, therefore, federation must be steadily prepared, and above all the Boers must be induced to co-operate. Mr Rhodes to that end allied himself firmly with Jan Hofmeyr, the acknowledged but unofficial leader of the Boer party in the Cape Colony—who also had his scheme of federation, with the Boer flag in place of the British, and hoped to work it out by organizing the sluggish Boer voters at the Cape and so attaining a parliamentary majority and placing a Boer ministry in control at Capetown. The strange alliance lasted longer than might have been expected: but neither leader could quite control his own friends. Natal and the Free State could be let alone till the decisive moment. The Cape was quiet under the Coalition. The Transvaal —there was the rub.

When the first inrush of gold-diggers planted at Johannesburg an excitable and largely English population in the midst of the slow-thinking Boer farmers, a Transvaal law of 1882 still gave full citizenship to every man who lived five years in the country. But in 1890 the Uitlanders found themselves confronted with new requirements—fourteen years' residence, forty years of age, and a few such: and when in 1894 more elaborate conditions were imposed, it became clear that the perpetual exclusion of the British element from Transvaal politics had been definitely resolved on. The President was not shy of emphasizing his resolve. Uitlander petitions were openly mocked by his friends, and his own language on many occasions smacked of the gutter and the prize-ring. He attempted intrigues with Portugal to secure Delagoa Bay: he accumulated war material and drilled troops:

Misgovernment in the Transvaal.

he talked unconcealedly of a German protectorate: in fifty ways he showed his intention of abandoning the cautious Afrikander policy of Mr Hofmeyr, and flinging his country into the arms of the European—German and Hollander—adventurers with whom he had surrounded himself. His administration was notoriously corrupt, notoriously tyrannical in native affairs. The Boer farmers who supported him knew little about the corruption—the money did not come out of their pockets—and applauded his treatment of the natives. The Johannesburger, who paid the money, and was for a long time liable to be sent on commando against the exasperated tribes, and had not even the right to look after his own town matters, grew day by day more bitter and more sure that nothing but full citizenship would remedy his grievances. He stood for a Republic, as men devise republics nowadays: the President's Republic might perhaps find its parallel in mediæval Italy. So he agitated.

The Transvaal National Union was formed in 1892, among men who lived in the country and felt the shoe pinch. In 1895, when the last hope of voluntary Boer reform was gone, and signs of the times grew ominous, came in the richer men—the much abused "capitalists," Cecil Rhodes leading. The Union fitted in well with his scheme: the Transvaal must be half British, or British predominance in the federation could not be assured; but it must remain, for some time at least, an independent republic, or the Free State and the Cape Boers would be frightened out of federation altogether.

The Reform programme.

A *coup d'état* was arranged. At the year's end Johannesburg should rise, arming itself partly with weapons smuggled in, mainly from the seizure of the well-stocked arsenal at Pretoria. Dr Jameson, the Administrator of Rhodesia, who was

camped on the western border with a body of Light Horse ostensibly to guard the Mafeking-Buluwayo railway works, should either simultaneously or when news came of the rising (for plans varied) march at speed to join the insurgents, so distracting the President's arrangements and adding semi-official prestige to the movement. The actual Government was to be upset, and a new one installed, with a Constitution based on equitable franchise laws and clean courts of justice.

The year wore on, and every month added to the tension. In November the President deliberately broke the London Convention over what was known as the "drifts" question, and it required an ultimatum from the British Government and very strong pressure from the Cape Boers to make him cancel his action and so preserve peace. Then came a sudden misunderstanding in the Reform camp. Rumour said that the rising was to bring annexation to England and the British flag at Pretoria: the Union was too cosmopolitan for such a programme, and nothing more could be done till the matter was settled. Mr Rhodes hastened to set things straight: reform, not annexation, was what he wanted. But his lieutenants were tired of bargaining. When the Reform leaders postponed the rising, Dr Jameson restrained himself no longer; sending an impatient message to Capetown, he crossed the border with about six hundred men, and rode night and day for Johannesburg. The Jameson raid.

Disaster followed. In London, in Capetown, in Johannesburg there was consternation: only at Pretoria was the sudden move expected and made ready for. The invaders were trapped and forced to surrender within a few miles of their goal. Lord Rosmead, the High Commissioner, tried to intervene, but was quite

outwitted by the President. Jameson and his men were handed over to the British Government to be put on their trial at home: then the Boers felt they had done enough to establish a reputation for magnanimity, and turned savagely on the reformers, who had actually in the crisis done no more than would keep Johannesburg quiet. Trials of the most irregular kind, death sentences on four of the chiefs, heavy fines, long and brutal imprisonment,—such was the portion of the leaders: for the rest, the old corruption, the old contemptuous neglect of grievances, the old round of petty tyrannies were revived with a more deliberate audacity of torture, because it was felt that the Raid must for years block any interference on the part of the British Government. As for Cecil Rhodes, his schemes and his influence were for the time annihilated. Dealing with so cunning an opponent as President Kruger, he had perforce been over-reticent with those to whom he owed official duty: he controlled so many big enterprises that intrigue in any one capacity could not but infect his straightforwardness in the others. He soon redeemed himself as a man by the pluck and the tact he displayed in ending a serious native insurrection that broke out in Rhodesia the same year. But as a statesman he was compelled to look on while his cherished federation scheme fell to pieces, and his work of years—the union of Briton and Boer for the welfare of South Africa—was replaced by bitter hatreds and the openly anti-Imperial preachings of the new Afrikanderism.

Boer revenge.

Rising in Rhodesia, 1896.

Yet if Cecil Rhodes failed, Jan Hofmeyr failed also —and even more disastrously. The Hofmeyr plan had a year or two of steadily-growing success. In 1898, for the first time on record, a Boer Ministry controlled the Cape Parliament. It became possible

The Boer plan

that in a short time the Cape Colony, the Free State, and the Transvaal, working solidly together and completely cutting off the English of Natal from their countrymen in Rhodesia, might force on a Federation in the Boer interest and constitutionally demand from Great Britain the removal of her garrisons from South Africa — a naval station being conceded to her at Simon's Bay, to ensure the maximum of Imperial protection with the minimum power of interference. Unfortunately for this ingenious plan, President Kruger had his own ideas about Boer supremacy and the methods of its attainment. He went to the limits of tyranny: he accumulated armaments and drilled troops more vigorously than ever: he intrigued with every European Power that would listen to him, and persuaded himself of support from all the others. Rushing on his fate, he forced the Johannesburgers into formally petitioning for British intervention, and conducted the ensuing negotiations in a spirit of almost ribald defiance. Hofmeyr pleaded in vain that to gain time for the perfecting of his plans almost any concession was worth making: Kruger was obstinate. He dragged out the South African winter with tortuous diplomacy, until his fellow President of the Free State had inveigled his burghers into the plot: then, on the heels of an insolent ultimatum, he flung the mass of his forces on Natal, with intent to sweep through it to the sea and hold Durban as the long-desired Boer port.

upset by President Kruger.

The South African War, 1899-1901.

He had counted most of the chances, but he had forgotten to reckon with the character of his armies. Stubborn enough in defence, the Boers were slow to attack, and took as few risks as possible. Where they should have swept, they crawled. The invaders of Natal wasted precious time round Ladysmith, where

they had hemmed in the only army—a contingent just before hurried over from India—that Britain had on the spot. Smaller forces, that might have stirred half the Cape Boers into revolt, sat themselves down outside Kimberley and Mafeking. Troops went hastily from England to the relief of the besieged garrisons, attacked the besiegers as hastily, and were baffled by cunning intrenchments and their own ignorance of the country. Sore with defeats where she had looked for victory, Britain turned to men of whose victories she was already proud—Roberts of Kandahar, Kitchener of Omdurman—and backed them with all the forces of the Empire.

Stormberg, Magersfontein, Colenso, Dec. 1899.

The garrisons were relieved one by one: a series of forced marches drove the Boers from Bloemfontein, another series carried the main British army to Pretoria: the army of Natal, proved already in mountain warfare by ten weeks of battle outside Ladysmith, stormed the Drakensberg, thrust itself across country against the retreating Boers, and broke their last organised army to pieces in the hill-fastnesses near Lydenburg. Kruger fled to Europe: his fellow ex-President of the former Free State betook himself to raiding in company with Christian de Wet, the most notable of the guerilla leaders, into whose hands the Boer defence now fell. For eighteen months longer this guerilla phase of the war—a succession of Boer raids, met at first by a defensive policy of blockhouse construction, and afterwards by a series of "drives" which were intended to force the raiders on to the line of blockhouses—uselessly wasted the resources of South Africa and kept the Empire in a fever. At last the remnant of the Boer fighters, and even De Wet himself, were convinced of the folly of continued resistance to an

Paardeberg, Pieter's Hill, Feb. 1900.

Dalmanutha, Aug. 27-28.

army fifteen times their strength, whose efficiency increased every day, while theirs could not but lessen. Peace was made on terms which had been offered them a year before: their States became colonies of the Empire, at first under military government, with a definite promise that representative institutions should be granted as soon as possible; their language was recognized, equally with English, in the law-courts and the schools; £3,000,000 was granted to restock their farms and as far as possible repair the ravages of war. Vereeniging, May 31, 1902.

The military form of government was almost immediately replaced by one of the Crown Colony type, with Lieutenant-Governors and nominee Councils. It was the intention of the Unionist Ministry which administered the Empire till the end of 1905 to substitute for this a government of the "representative" type, thus raising the colonies to self-government gradually through all the steps by which the Canadian and Australian colonies had to climb. But the Liberal Ministry that in December, 1905, succeeded Mr Balfour's, contained many members who had disliked the war all along, and willingly gave the Boers quicker promotion. The Transvaal in 1906, the Orange River Colony in June, 1907, received a constitution of the same freedom as is given to Canada and Australia: Boers and Britons are equal, and every white male adult with more than six months' residence has a vote. The two languages are both recognized, and the debates of the legislature may be conducted in either; electorates are as nearly as possible of equal size; members are paid; elections must take place at least every five years. The only internal affairs which still remain under Imperial control concern the natives of the two colonies, and the importation of coloured

labourers from outside under servile conditions. Considering that only seven years ago many of the men who now rule the Boer colonies (for the British element is still in a great minority) were fighting against the Imperial forces, this complete gift of self-government is a serious experiment, and we cannot wonder that many notable statesmen watch it with grave anxiety: but, if it succeeds, it will be incontrovertible evidence both of the soundness of British institutions and of the common-sense of our new fellow-colonists.

A further step towards the consolidation of British South Africa was taken in 1908-9. Almost immediately after the end of the war the new colonies' railways had been federated under a joint board of control. In 1906 all the South African dominions, together with Southern Rhodesia, were included in a Customs Union. The problem of dealing with the natives has always concerned all South Africa, not any colony singly (*see* p. 328): and its urgency was enforced when in 1906 a rising of disaffected Zulus seriously embarrassed Natal, to which Zululand had been annexed in 1897. All these approaches and incentives to unity culminated in 1908, when a conference from the four self-governing colonies and Southern Rhodesia, meeting first at Durban, then at Capetown, discussed projects for following the examples of Canada and Australia. In the end the Canadian precedent was adopted: the Dominion Government is to be supreme, and to exercise all powers which are not expressly conferred upon the "Provinces," as the old colonies are to be called; the Governor-General is to appoint an Administrator for each of them, while he himself is appointed by the King; the provincial legislatures are single houses, but the Dominion Parliament consists of a Senate of 40 and an Assembly of

South African Federation.

121 members—the latter elected directly by the voters, the former appointed by the different local legislatures, except eight whom the Governor-General nominates, partly for their intimate acquaintance with the needs of the native population. The provincial debts are to be taken over, and the railways federated—so that South Africa has learnt a valuable lesson from the difficulties of the Australian Commonwealth. Finally, the capital of the new Dominion—disputes over which nearly broke up the Conference—is to be in duplicate; Parliament will meet in Capetown, but the Government offices and administrative mechanism will be at Pretoria, a far more central position.

So South Africa, after many troubled years and much spilling of blood, has come near to peaceful and permanent union at last. How far that would ever have been possible without the war no one can safely say: it is very doubtful, at any rate, whether without the war union would have come under the British flag. As it is, whichever of the two races dominates the administration, the form and spirit of it must be British; from Capetown to Tanganyika, in protectorates and Dominion alike, there must be equal justice, equal political opportunities, orderly development within the Empire. Yet this is the war's lesser work. Its greater work was begun when from every colony of the Empire free men came gladly to fight in the Empire's quarrel.

The War's results.

Greater Britain has grown since Gordon's time in territory, but far more in knowledge of her strength and her responsibilities. Not Canada only, or Australia only, thrilled from end to end with eagerness to help the mother-country: wherever under the British flag white men live strenuously side by side, the pick of them was banded together to demand a post beside

their kin in battle. That white heat of enthusiasm could not last, but it lasted long enough to weld the Empire roughly into unity. In face of the insistent competition, in matters of war and peace alike, of other more concentrated Empires, there will soon be urgent need of some Imperial organization to formulate and express the results of that unity. Meanwhile, it exists; and the very restlessness which some foreigners interpret as a sign of colonial dissatisfaction is really a proof that the Empire is at last a single living organism, in which no limb or organ can be affected without disturbing the whole.

CHAPTER IX

IMPERIAL DEVELOPMENTS

A. The American Colonies.

When Canada once attained practical self-government, she became rapidly more prosperous and more important. The forests of Ontario disappeared, to give place to fertile farms and growing towns: those of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick sent out larger fleets yearly to the fisheries and the markets of the world. Presently the maritime provinces began to feel that they would be stronger if united, and held a conference at Charlottetown to discuss a scheme of federation. In Canada proper the refusal of French-speaking Quebec to allow Ontario, now the more populous district, a proportional preponderance in the joint Legislature so embittered the usual party-fights as to make government almost impossible: a remedy was needed which would restore to each district the management of its own affairs, without dissolving the union between them which was of such use against attacks from the south—for the United States, both before and after their own Civil War, were unmistakably anxious to annex the Canadian provinces. The two movements (Ontario-Quebec and maritime) soon coalesced; a Quebec convention drew up a Federal scheme, which was adopted by three of the Legislatures concerned; a second

Canada. The federation movement.

Sept. 1, 1864.

Oct. 10-28.

conference, held in London at the end of 1866, amended the scheme in details (mostly financial), and early in the next year an Act of the Imperial Parliament proclaimed the Dominion of Canada. New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Ontario, and Quebec were from the first integral parts of the new federation. Each retained self-government in local matters: all joined in obeying a central government with nominee Senate and elected Assembly. In the Assembly Quebec was given 65 members, and the other provinces are represented by numbers proportioned to their population: in the Senate, Quebec and Ontario have each 24 nominees, and the rest (at first 24, now 39) are divided proportionally among the smaller states.

The Dominion Act of 1867.

The Dominion once formed, it became an important matter to extend its bounds. Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island had been represented at the Quebec conference, but declined to go further in the matter: the smaller island came in through straitened finances during 1873, the larger still remains outside. In 1904 the French claims to exclusive use of the "French shore," which had kept the islanders restless ever since the Treaty of Utrecht, were abandoned, France receiving in exchange some West African territory: but there is still trouble with the United States over fisheries, due to a disputed clause in the treaty of Ghent, and the Imperial Government has not mended matters by arranging temporary makeshifts with the U.S. over the heads of the Newfoundland authorities. After many lean years prosperity has come to the colony by the development of its lumber trade and the opening up of rich iron and coal mines. Some day it must consent to enter the Dominion, but the day is not yet.

Newfoundland.

Far more important, both then and since, to Canada's welfare was the admission of the great North-West and of British Columbia. During the years of quiet which followed the Selkirk disturbances, the Red River district had remained peacefully unprogressive. The Hudson's Bay Company had no desire to foster agriculture, or to encourage settlement on those quiet expanses that yielded it such a wealth of furs. But in 1869 the newly-established Dominion Government bought from it the north-west territories for £300,000, various small areas of land still remaining the Company's private property, while the rights of Indians and half-breeds were to be defined and respected by the new authorities. Unfortunately Canadian officials were sent up before the district had been properly handed over: the Company's officers were sulky, the Winnipeg men a little hurt at being thus bought and sold, and the Métis put in extravagant claims for land on the ground of their Indian descent. A leader for the malcontents quickly made his appearance: Louis Riel, a young French-Canadian, formed a provisional Government (which included another French-Canadian, a discontented Scot, and an American Fenian), and proclaimed Rupertsland and the North-West an independent colony. This step alienated most of his Winnipeg supporters, whereupon he arrested all who prominently opposed him, and finally shot one of them after a packed court-martial.

Accessions to the Dominion.

Trouble in the North-West.

Louis Riel.

Canada was at once in a blaze of excitement. Ontario cried out for vengeance: in Quebec Riel found a large body of supporters. The Imperial Government, which was still in control of the rebellious district (for the Dominion had refused to take it over till the rebellion was put down), sent off Colonel Wolseley

The Red River expedition, 1870.

with about 1200 men to restore order. But before he could reach Winnipeg the Catholic Archbishop of the district had mastered the violence of Riel and his party: peace was restored, and Wolseley's arrival ended the rebellion at once by frightening the Provisional Government over the border. An Act of the Dominion Parliament gave the Red River district responsible government as the Province of Manitoba, and its Lieutenant-Governor was made ruler of the still unorganized North-West.

Manitoba created.

Now Canada set about her promised work of settling the Indian claims. By seven treaties, concluded between 1871 and 1877, the whole country as far west as the Rocky Mountains and as far north as the Great Slave Lake was thrown open to white men's settlement, Indian reserves being marked out at the rate of a square mile for every five persons—about seven thousand square miles in all. Even the intractable Blackfeet, the terror of American settlers across the border, agreed quietly to a treaty which they have ever since faithfully observed; and when other bodies of Indians came north, driven from their old hunting grounds because white tourists were shooting all the buffalo, successful efforts were made to establish them as farmers on Canadian soil.

The Indian treaties.

The admission of British Columbia to the Dominion was obtained by a promise, too recklessly given, that within ten years a railway should be thrust across the continent, over lands and through mountains only half-explored, to bring Vancouver within easy reach of Ottawa. For years this promise oppressed the Dominion like a nightmare. The first intention was to leave the work to a private company, subsidizing it with cash and land-grants. This plan collapsed amid whirling rumours of political

The Canadian Pacific Railway, 1871-1886.

1873.

bribery that upset a strong Government. The ten-year limit was abandoned, the railway was now to commence from Lake Superior westwards, and soon the new Government determined to undertake the work as a State enterprise. Six years of this arrangement proved it also impracticable, and in 1881 a return was made to the original idea. Private enterprise was again enlisted; Donald Smith—now Lord Strathcona—and George Stephen—now Lord Mount-Stephen—backed the undertaking with their fortunes and their brains, while John Macdonald and Charles Tupper fought for it in the political sphere; through huge difficulties, financial and parliamentary, these four brought it to success, and in four years a finished line stretched from Montreal to the summit of the Rocky Mountains, while by the middle of 1886 trains were running regularly across the continent. 1874.

The route followed in the end lay well to southwards, at no great distance from the United States border-line. This was a bitter disappointment to settlers further north, especially those along the North Saskatchewan River, whose envy of Manitoba had led them to hope for a similar province of their own. Battleford was the chief British town in this district, the Métis having land further east at Batoche. Now English and French-Canadian survey methods differ a good deal, as one may see at a glance by comparing the shapes of counties in Ontario and Quebec: an English farm is laid out in broad oblongs, as nearly square as may be, while the French have a preference for narrow river-frontages and great depths.* The Batoche Métis were consequently much aggrieved about the new surveys, which had been made English-fashion:

Survey difficulties in the North-West, 1883-4.

* Ten-chain frontages and two miles of depth were the Batoche farmers' choice.

and it unluckily struck the good people of Battleford that another half-breed revolution might give them the constitution which, they argued, Riel's had given Manitoba. It was playing with fire. The Batoche men caught eagerly at the suggestion and got Riel back from exile to lead them: he hurried matters on, intrigued with the Cree Indians of the neighbourhood, formed a half-breed Provisional Government, threatened the English with a war of extermination, and finally announced himself both king and prophet of a Métis nation with a new half-breed religion to match. This time war broke out in earnest. The half-breeds defeated bodies of mounted police, their Indian allies massacred missionaries, and Riel's military leader, Dumont, for a time checked the advance of 4000 militia under General Middleton. But the Blackfeet, the really formidable Indian clan, did not stir: Middleton captured the insurgents' capital, Batoche, at the point of the bayonet: a young Canadian, Colonel Otter, dispersed the Indians who were attacking Battleford: the rebellion collapsed, and Riel was caught, tried for high treason, and hanged. For a short time his fate renewed the racial troubles in the east, but no longer with the old vehemence and the old accompaniment of demands for independence. Canada had greater matters to think about.

The second Riel rebellion.

Gordon was dead at Khartoum. That death, and the manner of it—so long delayed, so lonely, so almost averted — in some mysterious way crystallized the Empire. Australia and India sent contingents to Suakin, where there was talk of a new advance to avenge Gordon's death: Canada, whose boatmen had done fine work in the expedition that was to have relieved him, from that time took the lead among our colonies in every enterprise that could knit the Empire

together. John Macdonald, who had ruled the Dominion as Prime Minister ever since its creation—except for the five years 1873-78—signalized his last term of office by inducing the country to reject a scheme of unrestricted commercial reciprocity with the United States, which would have much benefited the Canadian farmers, but must also have considerably weakened Canada's connection with the mother-country. In 1897 Wilfred Laurier, leader of the party that had opposed Macdonald, and had driven his successors from office in 1896, inaugurated the system of trade preferences to Great Britain which the other great colonies of the Empire have since adopted. In 1898 Canada initiated Imperial penny postage, and took the lead in the establishment of State-owned telegraph cables, the first of which, owned jointly by Great Britain, Canada, and Australia, was laid across the Pacific Ocean from Vancouver to Southport (near Brisbane), and opened in 1902. At all Imperial Conferences the Canadian Prime Minister has been spokesman for the colonies at large, and only within the last year or two have those for whom he spoke felt him not quite abreast of their desires for a more assured and a more intelligent unity of the Empire.

Canada leads the way for Greater Britain.

The Dominion's relations with the United States were from the first unsettled, at one time almost encouraging over-sanguine Americans to talk about annexation, at others verging on armed neutrality and prohibitive tariffs. Perhaps the only real danger of incorporation with the States was escaped in 1891, when, as we mentioned above, Sir John Macdonald defeated the proposal for commercial reciprocity: although it is not impossible that arrangements may yet be made for reciprocity in a

Disputes with the U.S.

limited form, the immense growth of Imperial feeling during the last fifteen years ensures that no such commercial arrangements will have any political effect. During these years, too, boundary disputes in the far north-west, sometimes involving serious loss to Canada in order to give some political party in the States a good electioneering cry, made feeling between the two neighbouring communities very bitter at times, and threw the Dominion into the arms of the mother-country which alone could procure for her a satisfactory settlement. The Canadian seal-fisheries in the Behring Sea were thus attacked in 1886 and for a time annihilated, under the pretext that the boundary of Alaska ran continuously from isle to isle of the Aleutian chain and made that sea a private possession of the States. Even when after much diplomacy and a long arbitration the American pretensions were utterly rejected and compensation decreed to the sealers who had been interfered with, Canada had to wait five years before the compensation was grudgingly paid. Then came the discovery of rich gold-deposits on the Upper Yukon, close to the eastern edge of Alaska. For a time it seemed as if this boundary also would be challenged, in the hope of bringing Klondike under the jurisdiction of the States: then it became evident that the gold was indisputably Canadian, but all feasible roads to it must pass through United States territory, either up the Yukon River or across the northern Rockies by some port in the long Alaskan coast-strip. American officials made none too easy the transport of goods in bond across this strip: Canada appealed to the wording of the old boundary treaty * with Russia, drawn up at a time when no accurate information about the mainland

The Behring Sea seal-fisheries.

Klondike and the Alaska boundary.

* See Appendix.

was in existence. Americans had established the towns of Dyea and Skagway at the head of the Lynn Canal, which—said the Canadians—was crossed near its mouth by the correct boundary line. When the diplomats of the U.S.A., copying the usual practice of Continental Powers, refused to admit of argument about their right to land they were actually occupying, Canada offered to raise no question about Dyea if another branch of the Lynn Canal was acknowledged indisputably Canadian: after some wrangling, arbitration was agreed to, and the resulting boundary — though in parts not yet determined—gives Canada none of the important points for which it was contending.

The new expansion.

Of late years there has been a great expansion in western Canada. The western wheatlands of the United States have begun to show signs of exhaustion, and farmers have trekked northwards over the border to occupy the fertile valleys of the Saskatchewan: to balance this American immigration the Canadian authorities have poured in immigrants from Europe, especially from the British Isles. In four years of this inrush the Dominion received nearly 200,000 settlers from the States, nearly 250,000 from the mother-country and about 150,000 from continental Europe. As a consequence the great plains westward from Winnipeg to Calgary and Edmonton, which ten years ago were traversed only by the Canadian Pacific Railway, are now gridironed by half a dozen railway lines, and may soon be connected by railway and canalized rivers with ports on Hudson's Bay. In 1905 the plains were organized into the Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, and given representation in the Parliament of the Dominion: the rest of the old North-West is divided into five territories—Ungava and Keewatin, on the eastern and western shores of

Hudson's Bay; Yukon, including the goldfields; and Mackenzie and Franklin, open forest lands, too cold for grain-growing, that drain to the Arctic Ocean.

The Canadian boatmen who took Wolseley's expedition up the Nile in 1884 were but the earnest of Canada's interest in the Empire's wars. A contingent from the Dominion fought at Paardeberg, and others worked hard side by side with fellow-colonists and with British troops till that dragged-out war came to a close. Now Canada has taken upon herself the responsibility of garrisoning the Imperial fortresses on her eastern and western border, Halifax and Esquimalt; she maintains a militia force of 50,000 men, and manufactures for herself everything needed in wartime except heavy ordnance. Following Australia's example, of which we have yet to speak, she is further setting herself to strengthen the Empire's naval forces, at first by a gift of battleships, later (in all probability) by providing and manning a Canadian squadron to be part of the Imperial navy.

Defence.

The history of the British West Indies and British Guiana for the last fifty years bears little on the achievements of Empire: partly because the problems of government in small and long-settled communities are mainly of local interest, partly also because the greatest problem in connection with them belongs to a stage of Imperialism we have not yet reached. Sugar is still their chief product, though Jamaica depends largely on its fruit, Trinidad on its asphalt, and Guiana on its gold: and to the prosperity of sugar plantations Britain's steady persistence in universal free-trade, despite the bounties of Continental States, is at the least inimical. A Royal Commission sat in 1896 to consider West Indian troubles, but devised no very definite remedies: palliatives must suffice, till the whole question of Imperial trade-mutuality becomes ripe for settlement.

The intra-tropical colonies.

The neighbouring mainland, however, has twice been the occasion of difficulties between Britain and the United States. It happened in 1823, when Russia was trying to colonize Alaska, and Continental Europe seemed likely to interfere in the quarrel between Spain and her revolted American colonies, that James Monroe, President of the United States, made a bold declaration to Congress. The Americas, he said, were now so free that no European power need think of establishing fresh colonies there: any interference with, or control of, American countries would be "unfriendly" to the United States. He added (for Britain had instigated his declaration) that his words had no reference to the existing colonies of European nations—the West Indies, that is, and Canada and Guiana, for the Spanish colonies had claimed their independence already. When, therefore, Californian gold-discoveries made it probable that a ship-canal would be cut through some part of the Central American isthmus, the authorities at Washington watched jealously the supposed increase of British political activities in that quarter. In the end an agreement was made between the two Governments establishing a joint protectorate over any such canal: the British diplomat said, truly enough, that we had no wish to occupy, and would not occupy, any part of Central America beyond what we had, and to obtain a similar avowal from Washington, agreed to give up our rights on the Mosquito Coast. So we paid a price for that promise, which, nevertheless, in recent discussions many American politicians have desired to break.

The Monroe doctrine.

The Clayton-Bulwer treaty.

A far more unexpected difficulty showed itself in 1895. Guiana was from the first an intrusion of the younger colonizing nations — Britain, Holland, and France—upon lands in dispute between the two older,

Spain and Portugal. Hence, while Dutch Guiana, lying between the territories of France and England, enjoyed fixed treaty boundaries, France in 1895 had still her boundary-dispute with Brazil, and England hers with Venezuela. Suddenly President Cleveland conceived the idea of interposing in our dispute, on the ground that we were attempting to take Venezuelan lands to add to our existing colony. Lord Salisbury tried to explain to him that we were simply trying to settle what lands had all along been ours, and what Venezuela's, and that the Monroe doctrine was in no danger. The President refused to listen, and proceeded to appoint a commission of his own to mark the boundary—hinting not obscurely that, if we then transgressed the limits so defined by him, he would treat it as an act of war. This rather wild challenge sobered his own countrymen, and matters went more equably thereafter. Spanish misrule in Cuba was nearer and more important business for Washington politicians, and the coming Presidential election of 1896 would turn, it was found, rather on questions of currency than on foreign affairs. So a scheme of arbitration was arranged, the United States taking the legal part of Venezuela's "best friend": the appointed tribunal was constituted in 1899, and after exhausting the evidence on both sides gave to Great Britain practically the whole of the territory she claimed, except a small district bordering on the mouth of the Orinoco.

The Guiana boundary.

B. Australasia.

Secure in their girdle of oceans from the turmoil of European or American wars, the colonies of Australia expanded steadily into the unoccupied continent which Britain had handed over to them. Each had its own enthralling subject for discussion and legis-

Australia fills out.

To face page 379.

lation—New South Wales its land-system, Victoria its fiscal policy, South Australia its settlement at Port Darwin, with the consequent building of its great overland telegraph line. Queensland, which had been encouraged during the Civil War in America to begin cotton and sugar plantations, found the question of cheap labour insoluble except by importing Kanakas from the nearer South Sea Islands. In the two south-eastern colonies the ordinary pioneer work of squatters or selectors sufficed to fill in yet unexplored portions of the map. The three large ones, where settlement was still a mere fringe on the enormous waste of Central Australia, were for many a day full of opportunities for more daring adventurers. Eyre, the first of the Overlanders, after opening up the track from Albany to Perth, had journeyed painfully along the cliffs of the Great Bight from Spencer Gulf to Albany. Sturt had discovered the lower waters of Cooper's Creek, Mitchell and Kennedy traced its upper course. Leichhardt opened up the coast-line of Queensland from the Fitzroy northwards, and surveyed the Gulf country from the Mitchell to the Roper. Gregory crossed the unknown land from Cambridge Gulf to Moreton Bay.

Exploration: Eyre, 1840-1.

Leichhardt, 1844-8,

After 1858 there was an outburst of exploring energy. M'Douall Stuart, a man of Sturt's training, after four attempts traversed the continent from south to north where the telegraph line now runs, and established South Australia's claim on the Northern Territory. The even better known expedition of Burke and Wills kept a more easterly line from Melbourne by the Darling, Cooper's Creek, and the Flinders to the Gulf of Carpentaria; but the arrangements for relief had been badly made, and Burke and Wills themselves starved to death during their return in spite of the kindness of some native

Stuart, 1859-62.

Burke and Wills, 1860-1.

tribes. The four expeditions that went to their help worked across districts not already explored; so that by the end of 1862 Eastern Australia was known in all its essential outlines, and only the more barren west remained for mapping — work well done in many adventurous cross-country expeditions by the Gregorys, the Forrests, Warburton, and Giles.

Local politics.

Until recent years Australian politics were matters of mainly local interest. Each colony began with schemes of assisted immigration, which gradually brought on an era of much borrowing, because money was required to open up communications through the sparsely-peopled districts behind the main range. This culminated in the "boom" years from 1886 to 1891, and was quite naturally followed by a commercial crisis and very severe retrenchment in all public expenditure. For the rest, there were repeated quarrels between Council and Assembly in New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia, which opened up all manner of questions interesting to the student of British constitutions: there were fresh discoveries of gold, notably in Queensland and West Australia, and of less precious metals, as of silver at Broken Hill and copper in northern Queensland.

The overland telegraph-line.

The most Imperial work, however, was done by South Australia, which took over the control of the region to its north, revived on Port Darwin the long-abandoned settlement of Port Essington, and connected it—and through it Europe—with the populated south-eastern corner of Australia by nearly sixteen hundred miles of telegraph-line at a cost (borne solely by the one colony) of almost five hundred thousand pounds.

New Zealand.

New Zealand had less peaceful times in store for her when the British Colonists first took over their own administration. The native lands question, which Grey had managed to keep in the background,

To face page 381.

soon asserted itself again. A large body of Taranaki Maoris were against any further cessions of land to white men, and the chief, Wiremu Kingi (William King), routed a survey party that had entered land within his jurisdiction by overwhelming them with all the ugliest and dirtiest old women of his tribe, who hugged the startled surveyors till they ran in dismay. But humorousness fares ill when matched against offended dignity, and the Governor was already on thorns about a movement in the Waikato district to establish a sort of Maori feudal monarchy: Imperial troops were sent to Taranki, and a war broke out which lasted, off and on, for nearly eleven years. At the first definite news of war Grey was hurried back from the Cape, but to a very different state of things from that which he had left. The Colonial Ministry advised one course, the Imperial commander-in-chief another: the Maoris had forgotten how to trust the white man, and were suspicious of all overtures. For a year or so Grey's imperious will seemed triumphant, and Maoris and settlers alike were regaining confidence: then another unfortunate outburst in Taranaki upset all his plans, and the island was aflame again. Eight years followed of indecisive fighting. From Taranaki, from Auckland, from Tauranga, British troops endeavoured to penetrate to the enemy's country, storming *pas* with much loss of life to find the same work must be done all over again a few months later: for in the west a new sect had developed, the Hauhau fanatics, who added to the war a previously-unknown brutality, and carried massacre into the East coast districts long after the Waikato natives had withdrawn themselves in passive hostility within their own border. The three-cornered quarrel

The "King" movement.

Second Maori war, 1860-1.

Third Maori war, 1863-5.

Hauhau war, 1864-70.

between Grey, his ministers, and the British general, ended in the withdrawal of Imperial troops* and the recall of the Governor: and the colonists were left to themselves to finish the work of pacification, which they did in 1871. Four Maoris now sit in the New Zealand Parliament, which altered its constitution in 1876 by abolishing the provinces and making both islands a single colony with a large measure of local government.

The Pacific Islands.

The islands to eastward, always watched with interest by Australian governors and statesmen, had no charm for Ministers in London. Only extreme pressure could induce the British Goverment to deal with them at all. Tahiti was offered to and refused by us in 1825, and within a few years snapped up by France, already considering the outcome of a Panama Canal. Grey, during his first period of rule in New Zealand, devised and half carried out a scheme of Customs Union with several of the neighbouring island groups, but Downing Street would have none of it. France in 1853 annexed New Caledonia, and protests from Australia were peremptorily vetoed at home. At last the scandals of the Kanaka-trade made Fiji a by-word in the South Pacific, and there was hint of interference by other nations: Britain, which had refused the group in 1859, was driven to break through its set policy of non-interference, and Fiji in 1875 became a Crown colony.

Three years later there was another outburst of diplomatic activity in this direction. We secured from France the neutrality of the New Hebrides, and

* British Ministers thought that the colonists were too careless about provoking Maori wars as long as they could summon Imperial troops to help them: but it was proposed at the same time to withdraw the Imperial forces from Canada, and Lord Granville declared that Canada should proclaim herself independent directly she felt strong enough. Lord John Russell, on the other hand, proposed a Colonial Representative Assembly, which should vote moneys from the Colonial Treasuries to be spent on Imperial defence.

made commercial treaties with Samoa and Tonga. And now New Guinea became the centre of attention. Gold discoveries in 1878 were not permanent enough to force us into annexation: but early in the eighties alarming news reached Australia—Russia was being asked to annex, Italy had thoughts of a settlement, Germany was hot on the scent, and had already formed a colonizing company. Queensland in haste hoisted the British flag at Port Moresby, backed by the enthusiastic approval of her sister colonies. When Lord Derby, the Colonial Secretary, deliberately cancelled the annexation, Australia from end to end protested and petitioned. A Convention, at which every colony was represented (New Zealand and Fiji included), resolved that New Guinea must be British: that convict settlements in the Pacific (such as the French one in New Caledonia) must be abolished: that no power other than Britain should be allowed to acquire new territory in the South Seas: and that Australasia was ready to share the expense of carrying out this policy. Mr Gladstone, aghast at this unauthorized programme of reform, would do no more (despite the efforts of Lord Derby and Mr Childers) than annex the south-eastern part of New Guinea: and on the heels of this concession came the news that Germany had taken possession of all the rest that was not Dutch, and included it in a protectorate with New Britain and most of the Solomons. Further east, also, trouble was brewing; for Samoa, offered to us in vain by its king Malietoa, was being annexed by the German consul, made into a protectorate by his colleague of the United States, and torn with civil war. There was much fighting and more diplomacy: there were projects of partition, and joint protectorates, and all sorts of devices for

New Guinea.

1883.

Dec. 1, 1884.

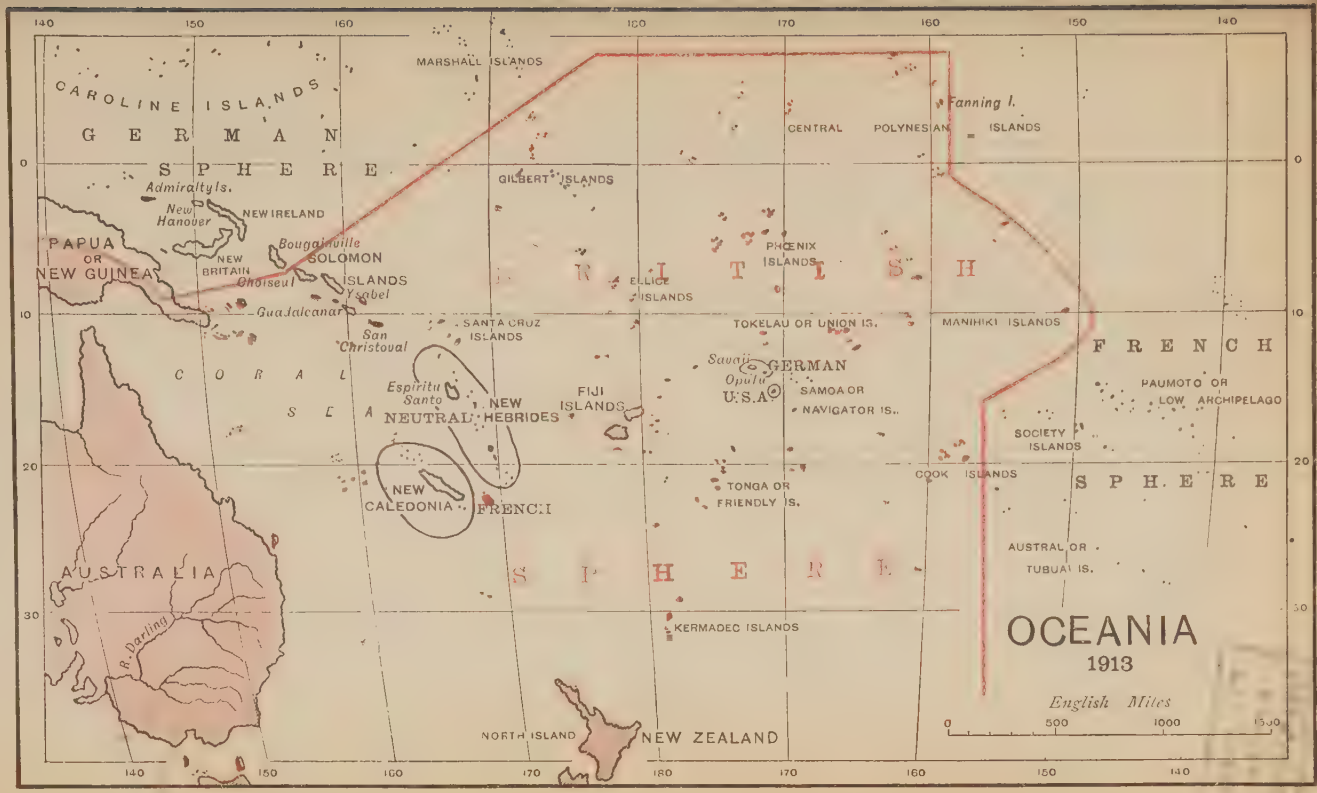
postponing a final decision: then there was more civil war. In the end, after a series of international agreements, completed in 1900, the Pacific has been mapped out as definitely as any continent. France keeps its two groups, one spreading east of Tahiti, the other centring in New Caledonia. The United States hold Hawaii and the Philippines, Guam of the Ladrones and Tutuila by Samoa. Germany, besides the rest of the Samoa group, has a compact area north-east of New Guinea that includes the northern Solomons, the Marshalls, and the Carolines. The New Hebrides have been placed under the joint protectorate of Britain and France, and are administered by Commissioners of each nation acting together in all matters that concern the natives. The rest of the southern Pacific is ours, from Palmyra to the Macquaries, from the Herveys to Torres Straits—a maze of sun-swept coral reefs, a region of unhampered leisure and still adventurous trade, scant law and ready-made justice.

The final settlement.

A Federation of states is so artificial a thing that it only becomes possible under stress of external aggression, long continued. The statesman will desire it for many other reasons: but no less strenuous influence will make it acceptable permanently to the mass of the people. So, when the colonies of Australia became self-governing, the Act that thus endowed them created also a Governor-General of Australia as a hint at the wisdom of closer union, and Wentworth in 1857 formed a "General Association of the Australian Colonies" to advocate federation both in Sydney and London. But the people at large could not for any abstract gain put aside their jealousies. Even when a project for an Australian Customs Union had so far been matured that an Act to further it passed the Imperial

Federal ideas.

The Australian Colonies Duties Act, 1873.



To face page 384.

Parliament, local prejudices reasserted themselves and the Act remained a dead letter.

As far as the existence of the colonies was concerned, external aggression had been impossible since the British declaration of 1839, unless a great European war began. But there were more indirect forms of aggression which in the eighties began to trouble the peace of Australasia. There was the steady and silent increase of Chinese immigration. There was the question of alien races in general—Afghan camel-drivers, and Syrian hawkers, and Kanaka plantation hands, and Japanese pearl-fishers. There was the lodgment of Germany in northern New Guinea and Samoa, the continued influx of French convicts escaping from New Caledonia. The stress of all these urged the inter-colonial Convention of 1883 to devise a loose confederation in the form of a Federal Council with weak legislative powers: but this, created by an Imperial Act of 1885, had no great or lasting success. Four colonies only (Victoria, Queensland, West Australia, and Tasmania) sent members to it regularly, and little work was done beside the making of patriotic and federal speeches.

The Federal Council.

A little later began the era of war-scares. Britain, mainly busy with the Home Rule for Ireland agitation and other domestic matters, took its scares as nine-days'-wonders. Australasia was much more serious over them, and began to think hard about its local defences. There was an inter-colonial defence conference in London during the Queen's Jubilee of 1887, and the ensuing report by an Imperial officer on the land defence of Australia gave impetus to the movement which in 1891 brought about a great Federal Convention, and there drafted the first real Federation Bill. But Sir Henry Parkes, the

Federation in practical politics.

one politician of those times who took much account of extra-Australian happenings, was driven from office in New South Wales on matters of domestic policy: and the movement, not yet thoroughly popular, lagged awhile. Canada revived it, with projects of a trans-Pacific telegraph-cable and an Imperial Customs Union, which were discussed in convention at Ottawa in 1894. The people took it up: delegates from four colonies directly elected by them (in 1891 the Parliaments had chosen the delegates) discussed and re-discussed and re-drafted the Bill of 1891, and submitted it to a popular vote on June 3, 1898. In New South Wales there was still a hitch, and the Bill was further amended by a conference of Premiers in the interests of that colony and Queensland. A second *referendum* followed: by September, 1899, all the Australian colonies except West Australia had accepted the amended scheme: and the passing in June, 1900, of an Imperial Act to which the Convention's Bill is a schedule, balanced the Dominion of Canada with a Commonwealth of Australia, which came into actual existence on January 1, 1901. It includes the five continental States and Tasmania (for Western Australia came in during 1900), ruling them through a Parliament of two Houses — a Senate of thirty-six members, six from each State, three being elected every three years, and a House of seventy-five Representatives elected by single-member constituencies approximately equal in population (though Tasmania, which on its population is entitled to three members only, is allowed five). In one striking particular the Australian Constitution differs from the Canadian. In the Dominion the central parliament is supreme, and the Provinces have only such powers as have been definitely allotted to them:

The Federal Convention, 1897-8.

The Federal Constitution.

in Australia it is the Federal Parliament whose powers are limited by definite words in the Constitution, and the States retain all the other powers they used to possess. Thus the Dominion Government owns and controls all the land of Canada outside the borders of the original provinces, while the Federal Government of Australia owns no land except the vaguely known area of the Northern Territory, and immigrants have to depend on what the six States choose to offer them on six different sets of conditions.

The Federal Parliament, however, has absolute power within its limited jurisdiction, and has used it to the full in two matters of Imperial importance. It has established a protective tariff, which prevents the importation of much foreign merchandize that can be replaced by goods manufactured within Australia, and to a less degree (for, following Canada's example, the Commonwealth is committed to the policy of trade preferences for the mother-country) blocks British goods also. And it has made stringent laws to prevent the immigration of Asiatic races, and to provide that other immigrants shall not be brought out under agreement to work for less than the usual rate of wages. For the same reasons—to keep Australia as far as possible for white men, and to ensure that no white man shall be asked to work for wages which would not give him a chance of rearing a healthy family—it has ordered that all the Kanakas who were brought into Queensland to give the sugar-planters cheap labour should be returned to the islands from which they came. And it has taken over, and now administers, the British portion of New Guinea which was annexed in 1884.

White Australia.

As was said above, defence was one of the chief motives for Federation. While the Commonwealth was

yet unborn, the States were sending their contingents to the South African war, and the first Federal Government followed their example. Then it began to bring all the scattered forces of the six States under one control; but there was very little money to spare, and every new Defence Minister had new ideas about organization. Finally, there was developed between 1909 and 1912 a scheme of compulsory training for the whole male population between the ages of 12 and 25, which will ultimately provide an army of about 150,000 troops in regular training (ages 18–25), together with reserves (ages 26–35) of at least equal numbers. Defence by sea was at first provided for by subsidizing the British squadron stationed in Australasian waters. Australians, however, wished to do more than this; and the Imperial authorities eventually agreed to the establishment of an Australian navy, to form a section of the Imperial navy in the Pacific. The ships are paid for, equipped and manned by Australia (though at first, of course, a certain number of British officers and men have been lent to the new fleet until the recruits are thoroughly trained); and every precaution is taken to ensure that the standards of efficiency shall be fully equal to those of the British Navy. A number of naval stations and bases are also being equipped and fortified by the Federal Government, and Australia's total defence expenditure per head is now almost the same as Great Britain's.

Defence.

New Zealand sent delegates to the Australian Federal Convention of 1891, but soon changed her mind and decided to remain outside any Australian scheme of federation. Her parliaments devoted themselves for many years to making experiments in legislation for improving the lot of the working-man. The most important of these were—

Recent N.Z. laws.

(*a*) A graduated tax on all land privately owned (which is increased by fifty per cent. if the owner

is an absentee), intended to prevent people from keeping large areas of fertile land unused;

(*b*) An Arbitration Act by which strikes are forbidden, and all disputes between employer and employee must be submitted to a Judge for settlement;

(*c*) An Old Age Pensions Act which gives not more than ten shillings a week to all respectable New Zealanders over sixty-five years of age.

Opinions differ, naturally, about the success of these laws: but none of them have been repealed, and Australia has copied them all with slight variations. As for other matters, contingents from New Zealand went to the war in South Africa; the colony—which has been a Dominion since 1907—shared in Australia's subsidy to the Imperial squadron, and has since given a battleship to the Navy; it has also adopted a scheme of compulsory training much resembling the Australian. It governs for the Empire two small groups of islands in the Pacific—the Kermadec and Cook Islands.

C. The Indian Empire.

The first years of direct British rule in India were full of reconstruction. The first-fruits of the Mutiny itself were a revised scheme of taxation to meet the expenses of suppressing it, and a remodelling of the Indian Army to prevent the possibility of its recurrence. Codes of law, penal, civil, and criminal, systematized the administration of justice among so many jarring nationalities. Hindu judges took their place in the High Court; and non-official English and Hindu members were added to the Legislative Councils. As opportunity served, this policy of sharing with the natives the responsibilities of government was very gradually carried into effect, — partly from the sincere desire to train

Internal affairs.

Natives admitted to office.

every people under our influence for the work of self-government, partly as the Indian phase of that desire, so almost universal among British politicians of the sixties, to let our colonies go their own way and confine England's direct responsibilities within the narrow seas. But every too hasty advance in this direction brought with it its own retribution. The freeing of the vernacular press resulted in the widespread circulation of seditious articles, notably in the Mahratta districts of the Bombay Presidency: municipalities under native control were anything but a help in our fight against the plague: native officialdom, where the strict supervision of British superiors was at all relaxed, tended often to peculation and favouritism. A more serious danger has arisen from our appointing men of the less warlike races to be governing officials over the manlier and more warlike. Sikhs of the Punjab, Mohammedans of the United Provinces, who remember that their ancestors made an empire in India before we came there, resent our practice of subjecting them to magistrates of the always-conquered Bengali race, simply because the Bengali had the wit to pass some examination test of our devising. For in India, perhaps more than anywhere else, the intellect that can pass examinations dwells apart from the strong character that can rule men: we run great risk in deliberately giving to cleverness that is almost cunning the prize of office that should fall to tact and grip and the strenuous content of doing unrewarded duty.

Discontent: the Brahmin and the Babu.

It was our hastily organized system of University education, imported into India full blown from London without sufficient consideration of its possible effects on students of very different natures, that was chiefly responsible both for our mistaken appointments and for the widespread discontent

among "educated" natives when we ceased to make them. Too often their "education" was the merest smattering of facts got up in order to pass some examination, and forgotten immediately after; and, as their only motive for passing was to qualify for a post under the Government, they felt cheated when no post was given them. Even those who had a real zeal for knowledge did not value the sort of knowledge the Universities provided, almost entirely in the English tongue which few of them were taught to speak or understand fluently. So to the dissatisfaction of the Poona Brahmins, who looked back with pride to the days when their caste gave wise counsellors to all the Mahratta chiefs, was added the more voluble and less intelligent dissatisfaction of the Bengali University students, vainly clamouring for Government billets on the strength of scrappy examination "tips": and in 1885 a so-called "National Congress," from which the Mahommedans held aloof, began to voice their grievances. Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty, during which he made largely successful attempts to remodel the whole educational system on sounder lines, and which closed with a division of the huge Bengal province so as to give the Mahommedan population of its eastern half fuller use of the revenues they contribute, created great discontent in Calcutta: from spoken to active sedition, from press abuse to bomb-throwing, the "educated" Babus were led by their cleverer friends from Poona: and the Government was forced at last to pass a Summary Justice Act which has deprived the agitators both of the public advertisement they loved and of the comparative immunity which had encouraged their seditious talk.

But behind the sedition and the clamouring students there was masked a real, though smaller, grievance.

If ninety-nine hundredths of the men we thought we were educating have got little good from it, the hundredth has gained a good deal. We have called into existence a class — much smaller than it thinks itself—of clever and ambitious Hindus who have absorbed greedily the political philosophy of our nineteenth-century publicists. We have taught them the excellence of self-government, and have impressed upon them that the Empire's extent and unity are the result of keeping that principle constantly in mind. They naturally ask us to give them a taste of it. The obvious and unanswerable retort is that they themselves do not want a self-governing India in our sense of the word—they only want an India governed by themselves instead of by ourselves: and, as long as India includes the mutually hostile races and religions which now inhabit it, any system of government by clever Hindu lawyers would mean instant disintegration and subsequent anarchy. But unanswerable retorts are dangerous instruments of government. If we cannot—and we certainly cannot—give these men the powers they ask for, we can at any rate give them some experience in the practical work of government: not merely of local administration, for quite sixty per cent. of offices dealing with that are open to them already, but of the supervising, controlling, and policy-deciding work which belongs to the advisers of provincial Governors and of the Viceroy. This is the latest advance in the direction of ruling India through Indians; and, whatever cautious politicians may think about its hastiness, no one can but hope that the men chosen will justify our trust in them.

The real grievance.

and its remedy.

For the future, then, the mechanism of Government for India is to be constituted thus:—

The native villager, whenever he needs protection or

remission of taxes or anything beyond the power of his village headman to grant, finds British authority represented by the native "tahsildar" of the subdivision in which he lives. The tahsildars report to the officers—nearly all natives—in charge of divisions, and they to the Collectors or Deputy-Commissioners (the name varies in different provinces) in charge of districts. These District Officers, 259 in number, nearly all British, are absolutely responsible for the welfare of their part of India, and control both finance and police within their bounds. Above them are the provincial authorities, sometimes a single Briton called Chief Commissioner, sometimes a Governor (as in Bombay and Madras) or a Lieutenant-Governor, aided by Legislative Councils very largely composed of natives, and by Executive Councils all of whose members are British. Intermingled with these provinces lie the Native States, internally administered by native rulers who, so long as they refrain from tyranny or extortion, are very little interfered with; a British Resident is placed in each.

Supreme over all India, British Provinces and Native States alike, is the Viceroy, aided by an Executive Council of six heads of Departments (one of whom is at present a native) and a Legislative Council of sixty-three to sixty-seven, of whom the majority must be officials. And even he is controlled from London by the Secretary of State for India—with a Council of his own, of whom two members are natives (Hindu and Mohammedan)—who is in his turn finally responsible to the Imperial Parliament.

The great work of Indian administrators during the last forty years has been one of defence—strengthening our frontier against Russia on the west, maintaining our trade against France in the east, repressing

tendencies to misgovernment among the native rulers we protect, and above all fighting the famine that periodically devastates great areas of the Imperial domain. A famine-cycle began in 1866, when the coast province of Orissa lost a quarter of its population, simply because bad roads and a harbourless shore-line isolated it from its neighbour provinces. Two years later the Upper Ganges valley was in like plight: Lower Bengal suffered in 1874, and in 1877 the whole Peninsula was stricken by a drought that later on spread into northern India also. Eleven millions of money and more than five million deaths were the cost of this great disaster, and the Government set itself to devise schemes whereby no such wholesale ruin should again be possible. Taking India through and through, year with year, there was plenty of land for the population, there was plenty of water for the land: the problem was one of distribution mainly. "There are," it was said in 1897, "fifty millions of cultivators suffering from want of land, and a hundred millions of acres waiting for cultivators." Thus famines came: and when they came they were ruinous beyond the ordinary because there were no reserves—no staying power in the villager, no accumulated store of food in his store-pits. Railways and good roads, therefore, were the first preventives to be taken in hand systematically: and by them, when after twenty years drought again fell on the North-West Provinces in 1897, the surplus products of the Deccan found transit through the forests and mountains of Central India and fed millions of starving people in the north. Irrigitation, too, which Dalhousie first systematized in the Punjab, was spread gradually over most of the badly watered districts, even where it necessitated such bold enterprise as that tunnelling of

Famines.

Famine preventives.

the main range above Travancore that diverted the excess waters of the Periyar on to the drier plains of Madura. To redistribute the population more evenly is a harder task: but migration is already encouraged from congested districts to the emptier valleys of Assam, coolies from Madras depart under indenture to cultivate the sugar-plantations of Natal and Guiana, and the development of our East and Central African protectorates is like to depend mainly on the Hindu's work in trade and tillage.

The Native States.

Imbedded in the mass of territory which British officials govern directly lie nearly seven hundred states under native rulers, ranging in size from the eighty thousand square miles of Hyderabad to the few-acre-chieftainships of Kattiawar. To every ruler, great or small, the central Government guarantees peace and the undisturbed succession of his heirs, so long as he governs his people reasonably well for a native. No prince has diplomatic relations with any other state, Indian or foreign, except Britain: none may maintain an army larger than the Viceroy has fixed for him: none may admit Europeans to live in his state without permission of the British Resident. If any prince, after repeated warnings, is obstinate in bad government, Britain will see to it that some better ruler is found: but the new one will be native like the old, for Britain annexes no longer. Each prince has at his elbow a British official, the Resident, to advise and to watch him: but the Resident has no actual power—he is rather an ambassador from the central Government with freedom to speak his mind on occasion. By his advice, by our own example in the districts we administer, and by praise and titular honours (nowhere more valued than in India) for the prince who does his duty, we are training up the successors of Rajput

warriors and luxurious Moguls to a life of sober, orderly and beneficent rule.

Along the borders Viceroy after Viceroy has found his hands full. Lord Elgin was forced to crush the Wahabi fanatics, who from their strong-holds north-west of the Indus were calling for a holy war against all non-Mohammedans. Lord Lawrence (still during his viceroyship Sir John) chastised the raiding Tartars of Bhutan. Then came on the scene a more dangerous neighbour. Dost Mohammed, dying in 1863, left his unruly kingdom to a younger son, Sher Ali. At once the new ruler's eighteen brothers set up little kingdoms for themselves, and it took him five years to get rid of their opposition. Lawrence meanwhile, who had never greatly cared for an Afghan alliance, stood absolutely neutral, explaining to each brother in turn who got the upper hand in any important district that England would recognize *de facto* rulers but do nothing to support their rule. When Lord Mayo became Viceroy in 1869, Sher Ali, now lord in all his father's dominions, hoped for some more hearty welcome: but neither treaty nor permanent subsidy was forthcoming, although he was formally recognized as Amir in solemn *durbar*. However, we went so far as to make arrangements for him with Russia about their joint boundary on the Upper Oxus—arrangements whose vagueness nearly led to serious trouble in 1895.

The Ambela campaign, 1863.

1864.

Afghanistan.

1869.

Jan. 1873.

Sher Ali had already hankerings after a Russian alliance, for Russia was sheltering his most dangerous rival, his nephew Abdur Rahman, and he hoped that a friendly arrangement might be made with the host for the guest's quiet disappearance. When Khiva was swallowed up in the Russian advance, and Cossack patrols were seen on the Oxus and along the Persian

border, Sher Ali began to make deliberate overtures to the new arrivals * and when Russian designs in Europe were thwarted by the interference of our Ministers after the Treaty of San Stefano, it was an easy thing for their statesmen to retaliate by sending an embassy to Kabul. Our answer was prompt: a British force marched upon Kandahar, two converged upon Kabul, and Sher Ali fled beyond the mountains to die at Balkh. By the treaty of Gundamuk we secured the districts above Quetta and the passes west of Peshawur, and—fatal mistake!—for the second time placed a British Resident at the Afghan capital. In five weeks the Resident was massacred and the country in a blaze. General Roberts again pushed through the Kurram Pass upon Kabul, receiving on his way the newly-made Amir, Sher Ali's son, who was not unfairly suspected of treachery. An Afghan attempt to entrap and destroy our army as Elphinstone's had been entrapped in 1841 was defeated utterly: a serious defeat actually inflicted on our Kandahar force at Maiwand by another of Sher Ali's sons was avenged by the same army of Kabul, after a brilliant march of three hundred miles through hostile country. Abdur Rahman, the strongest man among Dost Mohammed's descendants, who had left his refuge in Tashkend to try his fortunes, was given the vacant throne: if he could hold Afghanistan, we told him, we would see that no outside power disturbed him. He had seen, during his long exile, more of Russia's ways than he cared to find put in practice within his own dominions: and from that time onwards, though his moods were occasionally uncertain, his loyalty to the British

The Afghan War, 1878-80.

* He offered them free transit and the right to build railways across Afghanistan, in return for their help in making the Indus his eastern boundary.

alliance remained indubitable — nor has his son and successor, Habibullah, fallen away from our friendship.

To make it easier for him to resist both Russia's pressure from the north and the turbulence of the tribes on our common border, the Indian Government now took in hand the delimitation of frontiers. By a series of negiotations lasting from 1884 to 1895, which once at least nearly broke off in war, the Russo-Afghan frontier was defined from the Persian border to the Pamirs. Because invasion, it seemed, would come (if it did come) by the line of Herat and Kandahar, arrangements had already been made with the Baluch Khan of Khelat that British troops should occupy Quetta; while the treaty of Gundamuk gave us the neighbouring districts of Pishin and Sibi, which are now embodied in British Baluchistan. This was the work of Sir Robert Sandeman, to whom we owe nearly the whole of our unquestioned authority among the Baluch tribes. A double railway from Sibi, that pierces the range beyond Quetta by a tunnel two and a half miles long, and ends on our border within easy reach of Kandahar, secured our hold on the southern line of approach from Russian territory. The central line by Balkh and Kabul was guarded with forts in the Khyber Pass (the historic route of India's invaders) and strong lines of defence well within our own borders at Peshawur and Attock and Rawal Pindi: when in the early nineties yet a third line seemed to become practicable, from the Upper Oxus by passes through the Hindu Kush, we revived a frontier post at Gilgit in northern Kashmir, which had been occupied during the second Afghan war, and occupied the small predatory border states of Hunza and Nagar. The larger state of Chitral, lying to the west of these annexations, happened a year

Frontier-guarding.

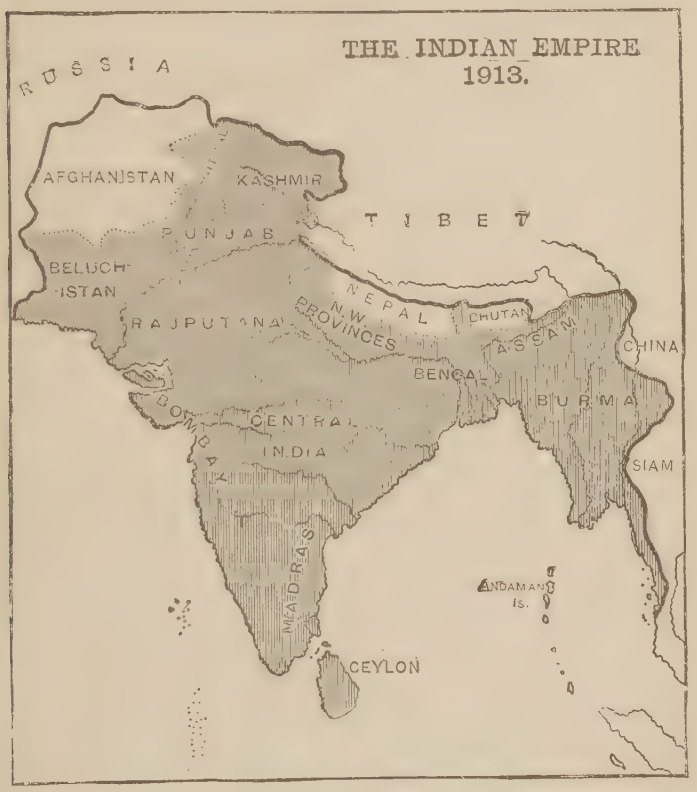
at Quetta, 1876;

the Khyber,

Gilgit,

and Chitral.

or two later to become involved in a civil war of disputed succession, and a small British escort was shut up in the fort of the chief village and besieged there for nine weeks. The Gilgit garrison marched through snow-covered



mountain passes to its help, and deserved for its bravery the honour of the relief: but in the meanwhile a strong force had advanced through the hitherto untouched lands of Swat and Dir, north of Peshawur, and broken up the besieging forces. Chitral, after serving as a battlefield

between the two great parties of English politics, was retained and garrisoned, a road being made to it along the line of the relieving army's advance. And with its retention we may feel sure that we have blocked Russia's northern route of invasion also.

The frontier tribes,

At three points only, roughly speaking, is it possible for an organized army of invasion to reach India. But along the whole line from Gilgit to the sea raids are possible, and the vagaries of a hundred frontier clans must be watched and controlled. From the Quetta districts southwards the task is comparatively easy: the Baluch tribes are obedient to hereditary chiefs, and these were secured to our interests by the splendid tact of Sir Robert Sandeman.

Baluch and Pathan.

But northwards to and across the Khyber a different race holds the tangle of mountain valleys — Zhob, Gumal, Tochi, Kurram, Kabul, Swat. They are Pathans, chiefless, not always controlled by the *jirgahs* that represent them in negotiations with us, predatory by the tradition of ages, and wont to be much influenced by the fanatic preaching of their Mullahs. For many years they were left undisturbed, except when their raids within our border were punished by retaliatory expeditions or temporary blockades. But this treatment, cheap and perhaps good enough to make the Punjab fairly secure against cattle-lifting, hardly sufficed to meet the possibility of organized attack on India which should be prompted and directed by a greater foe. So in 1893 Sir Mortimer Durand negotiated for us an agreement with the Amir which laid down a clear dividing-line through the whole hill-country of our common border, and forbade either party to meddle with tribes in the other's sphere. Soon afterwards we began to establish forts in the principal valleys within our new

The Durand Agreement, Nov. 12, 1893.

line, and the tribes grew restless, notably the Afridis of the Tirah. The Mullahs also, ever ready to excite Mohammedans against infidels, preached a holy war: it was the time of the Greco-Turkish campaign, and they spread reports that the Turks had beaten the Greeks (which was true enough) and had seized the Suez Canal; now, therefore, when the British in India were cut off from European help, was the time to strike a blow for Islam. From Tochi to Swat the tribes rose: our outlying garrisons were cut off, and one or two forced to surrender: five punitive expeditions had to be prepared at once. The most important of these, 25,000 men, under Sir William Lockhart, moved up the Kohat valley and fought its way into Tirah, the hitherto uninvaded home and almost sanctuary of the Afridis; and although the coming of winter forced it to retire, and to the last moment the highlanders harassed its withdrawing columns, yet the lesson was severe enough to need no repetition. The tribes came in to submit, the Mullahs were discredited and chased into obscurity, and our predominance on our western border was assured for many years. In 1901, for still further security, the whole strip of borderland along the western side of the Punjab was made a separate province under a military ruler who is responsible directly to the Viceroy.

The Tirah expedition, 1897.

On our eastern frontier the work of defence has been more complicated and yet in some ways easier. Our task has been at any rate a more straightforward one than in Afghanistan: Britons govern other races better than they humour them. The Burmese king had for twenty-five years sulked amid his temples at Mandalay, while his truculent officials revenged themselves as far as possible for their defeats by insolent and treacherous interference with our

Burmese affairs.

merchants and minor officials. When France, eager for a new East Indian Empire, began to stir in Indo-China, they were ready enough to provide French agents with a foothold from which they might considerably annoy British India. In 1878 a new king (known to us as Theebaw) celebrated his accession with a series of massacres, followed by great activity against British interests in every direction. Trading steamers were attacked without excuse, trading companies were harassed with fines and the cancellation of their charters: districts within our border were raided: the French were called in to strengthen Burma—unofficially—with money and arms in return for commercial treaties and railway privileges. At Theebaw's accession we had been too busy with Afghanistan to take the strong measures which might then have saved the situation: but in 1885, when the young king's pro-French bias declared itself unmistakably in treaty-form, our hands were comparatively free. Half-measures now meant the loss of our influence, not only in Upper Burma, but in Siam and the whole of further India and southern China. Our ultimatum—demanding that Theebaw should accept our protectorate—was rejected, and the war began.

Third Burmese War, 1885.

It was not difficult for us to dethrone him, for the regular Burmese army was no better since Dalhousie's time: the difficulties began when we had to administer his kingdom ourselves. The population consisted practically of two classes—the dacoits, robber gangs, partly permanent and partly recruited from the growing lads of every village: and the peasants who had passed dacoit age and were squatted down on the soil, trying to keep for their own livelihood as much of their produce as could be hid from their successors and the king's tax-gatherers.

There were no leaders but bandits: there was no nation, nor the germ of one. With such material as this the work of organization was taken in hand: to-day Upper Burma is as orderly and as briskly progressive as many old-fashioned Indian provinces, and was in 1897 promoted to rank alongside the Punjab as a Lieutenant-Governorship with a local legislature.

Asiatic "spheres of influence."

Of late years we have been able to confirm the security given us by the annexations just described by making formal agreements with France, Russia, and China which define the limits of our and their influence. Russia in 1907 agreed to consider Afghanistan entirely within our sphere, and to communicate with the Amir only through us: while a further arrangement defined Russian and British spheres of influence in Persia so that the western boundary of Afghanistan was quite outside the Russian sphere, and almost entirely within the British sphere. The agreement with China has put Tibet—the only danger-spot on India's northern border — outside all spheres of influence, British or other. Of the Anglo-French agreement, which guards India on the side of Siam, more will be said a few pages further on.

The Anglo-Russian agreement about Persia helps to protect us also against another danger to our supremacy in the Indian Ocean, which took shape a few years ago. For a long time men have schemed to shorten the passage to India by making a railway across Asiatic Turkey from the Levant to the Persian Gulf: thirty years ago the project seemed to be taking definite shape, and Britain took over Cyprus from Turkey to watch the Levant end of the railway. Nothing, however, came of it then. But in recent years Germany, which had gained great influence with the Sultan, obtained from him a concession for a line from Konia

in Asia Minor (to which there was already a German railway from the Bosphorus) to Bagdad and the Persian Gulf, and at once began to inspect closely the upper end of the Gulf for a harbour fit to be its terminus. At the same time much was heard of plans for Russian railways through Persia to the shores of the Gulf—it being hoped that, when once two other great nations had commercial interests in that quarter, the supremacy of Britain would naturally come to an end. Now the Anglo-Russian agreement gives us the monopoly of the Persian coast east of Bandar Abbas, and puts the coast west of that point outside British, Russian, or any other nation's sphere: while the German attempt to seize the harbour at Koweit, on the plea that the Sheik of the district was a subject of the Sultan, has been frustrated by the Sheik's appeal to Britain, which has guaranteed him independence. In spite, however, of all these precautions, it is clear that the completion of the Bagdad railway (a long way off yet, for it is only 125 miles past Konia at present) will create serious difficulties for the Government of India.

D. Ceylon and Further India.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, after a tedious and unsatisfactory struggle with the Dutch for the Java trade, our East India Company withdrew from its old head-station at Bantam and devoted its best energies to the struggle with France in India. The Far East, however, was too full of valuable merchandize to be abandoned altogether; Ben-
1684. coolen in Sumatra was seized, and a trade with China sprang up at Canton, while spasmodic efforts were made to gain a footing in Borneo.

For a hundred years trade flourished, and the

and Raines turned disconsolately to more prosaic work

For a hundred years trade nourished, and the

Company lived (comparatively speaking) in peace with its Dutch rivals, who held most of the islands from Ceylon eastwards. But the great war with the French Republic drove us to annex Ceylon, as we did the Cape, lest it should become a privateering station against our eastern tradeships: for already in 1782 Suffren had used Trincomalee as his headquarters in the war of Warren Hastings' time. Ceylon, however, we did not give back at the Peace of Amiens: on the contrary, we made haste to extend our dominion over the whole island (the Dutch had, according to their usual practice, been content with rule on the sea-coast), and after many years of hill-fighting permanently occupied Kandy. Roads opened up the island, plantations enriched it: when coffee failed, tea replaced it and brought a greater prosperity. Its history is the history of its commerce.

Ceylon.

Expansion towards Further India had begun a little earlier, when in 1786 the Company bought from its Rajah the island of Penang. Malacca fell into our hands at the same time as Ceylon, and in 1800 we bought the strip of coast behind Penang that is known as Province Wellesley. Presently it was rumoured that Napoleon was planning against India not only a Franco-Russian expedition through Persia but Franco-Dutch operation from Java, and Java was secured by a British force under Stamford Raffles. To him, made Governor of the new dependency, there came a dream of wider empire even than the Indian, maritime, spreading over all the tropic wealth of the Spice Islands and commanding the crowded markets of China and Japan. Only his immediate chief, Lord Minto, at all shared his dreams: Java was handed back to Holland at the Great Peace, and Raffles turned disconsolately to more prosaic work

The Malay Peninsula.

Stamford Raffles.

at Bencoolen. But he could not be altogether discouraged. Lord Hastings was less sympathetic than Lord Minto, and had enough on his hands with Pindaris and Mahrattas: yet when they had been finally dealt with he found time to sanction the first step in Raffles' design, and 1819 saw the beginnings of settlement on the long-neglected harbour of Singapore. Soon negotiations with Holland rearranged the spheres of influence in those parts, so that our stations in Sumatra were exchanged for what was still Dutch in the Peninsula. Singapore came year by year to the front as a trade-centre, with Penang a good second: Malacca and Province Wellesley devoted themselves to plantation work: when they were severed from India and made a single colony of "the Straits Settlements," their Governors began to exercise considerable influence in the adjoining Malay states, until to-day the whole south of the Peninsula is under the protectorate, and most of it under the direct guidance, of Great Britain.

April 1, 1867.

Till the year 1833 British trade with China was entirely in the hands of the East India Company. In that year, with the renewal under fresh conditions of the Company's Charter, this monopoly ceased, and China lay open to the enterprise of all British merchants. James Brooke foresaw the value for this purpose of a station in Borneo: he took his yacht into Malay waters, and succeeded in getting a tract of land on the west coast of the great island from the Sultan of Brunei, a native chief who had never yielded to the Dutch and who was glad of help against them. It was unlucky for Brooke's original plan that in the same year England obtained the much handier island of Hong Kong to be the centre of her Chinese trade: but he held on to his little kingdom, and when in 1846 the neighbouring

Sarawak ceded to Raja Brooke, 1841.

island of Labuan was ceded to Britain as headquarters for our squadron that keeps down piracy in the Archipelago, he was given the Governorship of this colony also. This, however, was of minor concern: the inspiring thing is that for more than fifty years he and his successor, ruling purely by the good-will of their subjects, maintained orderly and prosperous government among quarrelsome races, contemptuous of each other, and none too patient of any control but that of the most brutal force.

In 1878 another British subject acquired land-rights to the north of Brunei, which were developed into the territory of the British North Borneo Company. This was the first of modern trading companies to secure a Royal Charter, and so furnished a valuable precedent for the Chartered Companies which have since done so much work for us in Africa. A British Protectorate now covers all of Borneo that is not claimed by Holland: but the land lies too much under the Equator to become a real colony, and its development will come, if at all, from the work of Chinese coolies, even as, in an almost similar position, that of British Guiana depends on the immigrant Hindu.

The British North Borneo Company chartered, 1881.

For our concern with the Far East is not a matter of colonizing: it is mainly one of trade—it may be one of organization and government. And in matters such as these no mere harbour or half-populated jungle-settlement is much to be considered beside the limitless possibilities of China. "Cathay and the Moluccas" had been the goal of English traders from the first days of Elizabethan adventure: but no regular trade with the mainland began till 1670, when the East India Company established a factory at Amoy. This vanished in a year or two, and Canton became the trade-centre: so that

when in 1834 the Company's monopoly ended it was at Canton that friction first arose between the ultra-Conservative Chinese and the eager throng of newly-admitted traders. A short war resulted in the cession of Hong Kong, a desolate island near the mouth of the Canton River, and the opening to British trade of five ports in south-eastern China. A second war fifteen years after opened more ports, added a strip of mainland to the colony at Hong Kong, and established a British envoy permanently at Pekin. It also brought France on the scene, for French troops marched with ours to Pekin in 1860: and the French Emperor, still none too firm on his throne, and eager to distract critics of his domestic policy with wars and the conquest of colonies, turned his forces against the King of Anam, who had been ill-treating French missionaries, and within seven years had seized Cochin China and forced Cambodia under his protectorate. Years later the Government of the Republic, pressed by Monarchists on one side and on the other by the party of *la Revanche*, sought similar distraction in the same quarter; Tonkin, a northern dependency of Anam, was attacked and annexed, and Anam itself, the long coast-strip between the two French provinces, soon afterwards accepted a protectorate.

First Chinese War, 1839-41.

Second Chinese War, 1856-8, 1860.

French Indo-China: Cochin China, 1862-7, Cambodia, 1863, Tonkin, 1884, Anam, 1886.

The war that closed in 1860 marked the beginning of a new era for China. It was the close of those ages of haughty isolation that for forty years the true Chinese have not ceased to regret, and that already by massacre and the warfare of despair they are hoping to bring back. Even before France had settled herself in the nominally subject provinces to southward, Russia had obtained from the distracted authorities at Pekin large territories in the north along the Amur and

1861.

Ussuri. Britain took no territory, but secured fair play for her great commercial interests when the Maritime Customs of the Chinese empire were placed under the control of Sir Robert Hart. The 1864. empire itself was torn with revolution. The most dangerous was that of the Taepings, originally a revolt of the southern Chinese against their Manchu rulers, which had centred itself in the great town of Years of civil war, Nanking and so cut China in half and threatened the European settlements at Shanghai. This was finally crushed by the skill and audacity of Charles Gordon, who then first centred on himself the attention of his approving countrymen. Before the Taepings were done with, there was a rising of Mohammedan tribes in the south-west, followed by a more serious and lengthy rising in the north-west, that cut off for many years all connection with the provinces of Central Asia. Kashgaria became for a time an independent kingdom: Kuldja was seized by Russia under pretext of keeping order on her boundaries. The central Government was in the hands of two women and several high officials, none secure in their positions, all more eager to make themselves secure than to consolidate the strength of the empire. China began to lose faith in itself—to acquiesce despairingly in the demands of its rivals. There was a slight recrudescence of self-respect when in 1877 Kashgaria was reconquered and Kuldja recovered from Russia in 1881. But worse things were in store. An attempt to stay the French advance in Tonkin ended in a short war with France and ignominious surrender. Negotiations with Japan 1885. over Korea had the same result, except that there was no war. That came later, when in 1894 Korean politics again obtruded themselves, and Japan leapt on her unready adversary with astounding success

Chinese armies were everywhere driven like sheep, the fleet (though better led and braver) was destroyed or captured: Formosa had to be given up, with a huge war indemnity, and only the active intervention of Russia prevented Japan from acquiring Port Arthur also and the peninsula in which it lies.

So decrepit did China now appear that the European Powers began to treat her as another Africa: Germany, for the murder of two missionaries, seized Kiaochau and demanded a "sphere of influence" in Shantung; Russia followed suit with Port Arthur and Manchuria: Britain enlarged her mainland by Hong Kong and set herself in Weihaiwei to watch the Russians: France took her share in the south, and even Italy found pretext for similar claims. While foreign relations were thus disturbed, the Chinese civil service was distracted by spasmodic and drastic attempts at reform on the part of the young Emperor, who was rumoured also to be anxious to put down ancestor-worship. The age-old fabric of Chinese religion and government could not be thus roughly treated without grave disorders. The reactionary element suddenly regained power over a people whose pride and piety were insulted and endangered; and there followed the brutal massacres of the Boxer uprising, avenged with scarcely less brutality by a joint force of British (mostly Indian troops), French, Russians, and Japanese, that took and very nearly sacked Pekin. Since that time China has set herself to learn—slowly and stumblingly, but persistently—the lesson of material progress by modern methods which her neighbour Japan seems to have mastered so easily. Japan, indeed—especially since her repulse of Russia — has rather thrust herself into the position of China's teacher, not altogether with China's goodwill: and European

The Partition, 1897-8.

1900.

nations are inclined to distrust the conjunction, seeing how the world's peace might be seriously endangered if the 400,000,000 of the Chinese Empire were urged to aggressiveness by the alert and ambitious ruling classes of Japan. These, indeed, are the nations that Britain must learn to understand if the Empire is to be held together. The European is our close neighbour; the American is mainly of our own blood; both are governed by ethical ideas identical with, or not much differing from, our own. With the nations of Asia a different set of ideas is paramount; and we do not easily accommodate ourselves to strange moral ideas—we prefer to call them "barbarian" or "corrupt." But nations armed with modern weapons and equipped with modern industrial appliances are not disposed of by calling their morals "barbarian" because you dislike them. If you are at all likely to come into close contact with them, you must study and try to understand them. And with China and Japan the Empire is in very close contact, not only because our trade with China is greater than that of all the other nations put together, nor because we are allied, for mutual defence, with Japan; but because British territories in the Malayan tropics are being swamped with Chinese immigrants,* and only drastic legislation keeps them and the Japanese from overrunning also the larger British colonies that border the Pacific Ocean. That legislation does not at all please the Asiatic governments concerned: and it will need the best brains at the Empire's disposal to reconcile the determination of Australia and Canada to keep their lands "white" with the ardent desire of Japan's

Japan and China.

* In 1901 the population of the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States included 581,000 Chinese to 527,000 Malays; and Chinese immigrants are coming to Singapore at the rate of 175,000 a year.

and China's rulers to be acknowledged as in every way equals of their European friends and allies.

Siam. Siam, with which we traded in the seventeenth century, and had little to do for a hundred and fifty years after, became more recently of considerable importance to us as an Afghanistan (of a kind) on the south-eastern frontier of India—a "buffer-state" between Burma and French Indo-China. For France, having seized Tonkin in order to tap the trade of western China by the line of the Black River, found that line none too feasible, and turned her attention to the possibilities of the Mekong valley. This was Siamese ground: Cambodia itself, indeed, had been in the old days under Siamese suzerainty, and the Treaty of July 1867. French Emperor had only purchased the acquiescence of Bangkok in his seizure by promising never to annex the country formally, and by surrendering to Siam two valuable provinces in the west, Angkor and Battambang. In 1893, however, the point of view had changed considerably. The French people knows nothing of colonies, but is patriotically ready to endorse any claims made by its countrymen. The French "colonial party," therefore, adapting for its own use the lax political morality of the East, was able to find support for claims that gave to France (either as the *hinterland* of Anam or as ancient possessions of a Cambodian Empire—it did not matter which) the whole Mekong valley and the two coast provinces. French irregular forces occupied the river-basin; a French fleet blockaded Bangkok; Britain took alarm Jan. 15, 1896. at the terms demanded from the Siamese Government. After much negotiation an Anglo-French Convention recognised but strictly defined the new situation. Central Siam—practically the Menam valley—became an Asiatic Belgium, guaranteed by both Powers

against invasion: the rest of the lessened kingdom, from the Mekong to the already settled boundary line of Burma, was secured to the Siamese king, but so that France in the eastern districts, England in the western, may acquire influence or move troops in ease of quarrel or emergency. Siam, that is, still covers the Mekong-Burma area: but within that area a smaller region, containing nearly all the riches of the kingdom, has been put "out-of-bounds" to every foreign Power.

E. Trade Routes and their Defence.

The Romans, planting themselves in military settlements over the lands they subdued, bound these outposts of their Empire together with great highroads, and guarded the roads with forts at every crossing. From London to Lincoln the way is marked for us by Godmanchester and Castor and Ancaster. Just so to-day the British Empire is bound together with our ocean highways, and those ways are guarded from end to end not only by the settlements they thread, but by military stations and stations that, though they have now grown into industrial communities, were first and are primarily of military importance. Ocean Roads.

As usual, we began with no definite plans, and it was the French who first taught us the strategic value of these intermediate seaports. But some of them we had obtained for other reasons. St Helena had thus in 1651 become our half-way house on the Cape route to India: and Gibraltar was seized in 1704 that we might keep free for our trade the gate of the Mediterranean. Presently the raids of Anson on Spain's South American colonies suggested the utility of procuring another half-way house on our warships' route Sea fortresses.

to the Pacific; and when the Seven Years' War was over we annexed and partially occupied the Falkland Islands. But now France, sore with the loss of Canada and India, bethought her of the revenge offered by a privateering war—a *guerre de course* such as the French navy still dreams of—and by way of preparation marked down the harbours from which our East Indian trade could be most easily attacked. We did not come so well out of the American War as to stop her from proceeding with these plans: but the Great War—Revolutionary and Napoleonic—was decisive enough to give British Ministers whatever they chose to take. It had been long enough, too, to disclose fully the whole scheme by which our greatest enemy hoped to destroy our Empire. Napoleon harassed our Indian convoys from the Mauritius: but his hope had been to create for our destruction a French route to India, either by Egypt and the Red Sea or, later, by some overland road to Persia and the Gulf. On the lines he thus made clear it became our policy to establish a secure defence, either mastering the new roads or at least blocking their entrances and exits. The policy has been carried out spasmodically, it is true: there have been intervals when it seemed forgotten, years when it was well nigh reversed: but that way the current has tended, and its results are clear on the map to-day.

Napoleon's plan of campaign.

For these are the great ocean-roads of trade:—Firstly, those that run east and west across the North Atlantic and North Pacific, free along their whole length from possibly hostile land. On these it is as much as we can hope to hold fortified posts at either end: in the Atlantic our British and Canadian ports (and the Bermudas) in the North Pacific Esquimault on Vancouver Island and Hong

The Trade-Routes: trans-oceanic,

Kong. (Note that Halifax on the Atlantic and Esquimault on the Pacific are garrisoned and held for the Empire by Canadian troops.) Secondly, those that connect Europe eastwardly with Southern Asia—the Cape route, the Red Sea route, and that by the Persian Gulf. We guard our Cape route with the watch-ports at Gibraltar and Freetown and Simon's Bay, and the station at Ascension (occupied in 1815), while the settlements on St Helena and Tristan da Cunha prevent any inimical use of those islands in anticipation of war. In the Indian Ocean Mauritius and its dependencies, Rodriguez (1809), the Seychelles (1794), the Chagos and Amirante groups, and their many smaller neighbours, prolong our line to Ceylon, and it is extended past Further India to North China by the Straits Settlements, Labuan, Hong Kong, and Weihaiwei. Gibraltar, Malta (1800), and Cyprus (1878), protect the Mediterranean road: Aden and Perim (1857) watch the Red Sea mouth, which is further secured by British protectorates over northern Somaliland (1884-6) and Socotra (1886). The Persian Gulf is blocked by our station at Bahrein (1867) well within it, our agency at Muscat, and our ownership of the Baluchistan coast.

east towards the Indies,

A third series of trade-routes brings to us the commerce of South America, from both its eastern and its western parts, and most of the sailing-ships that carry Australian wares: on this we have no harbour of our own but the Falklands. But its possible supplanter, the highway that may soon be opened through the Carribean Sea and Nicaragua and the tropical Pacific, is well guarded for us: though the German flag flies in Samoa, and the French over the eastern groups—Marquesas, Society, and their neighbours—nearly all the other groups are ours, Fiji and

and west into the Pacific.

Tonga and Hervey, Gilbert and Ellice, and southern Melanesia; watched and counted not only by the men of our new Commonwealth in those seas, but by their fellow-islanders of New Zealand, who hope still, as Grey taught them, to be the headquarters of a Polynesian confederacy under the Imperial flag.

. . . . . .

So at last we begin to see the scheme of the Empire —no planned one, but a natural growth obeying natural laws. India is the central motive of its expansion. To reach India our adventurers threw themselves upon America: to guard the Indian trade we seized South Africa: upon India converge the routes that are dotted from end to end with our forts and coaling stations. And the struggle for India has been a struggle against France. From France we took Canada: just, and only just, ahead of France we secured Australasia: it was for fear of France that we deprived Holland of the Cape Colony. Upon lands won for such a cause from such an enemy the Briton has worked his will according to his nature, masterful, slow to appreciate new conditions, inelastic, but always the colonizer, the maker of homes, the founder of states, the builder of a nation. Going his own way, individualist to the uttermost, he has perplexed his stay-at-home kinsmen and his rivals alike by having no theories beyond the needs of the moment. The history of political philosophy is full of theoretically perfect governments: he has been interested in them all, experimented with them here and there, and adapted them audaciously for his own use. State Aid means a subsidy for his particular scheme from the general purse: State Control means the restraint of his weaker competitors from interference with his plans. Only, because he is a Briton, his plans and his schemes have

Imperial Britain.

a way of working out for the general good, not for his only: at the worst he is incapable of being consistently selfish—at the best he is a Gordon, a Livingstone, a Dalhousie.

Drawbacks of Empire.

But in this very individualism lies—or, at any rate, lay—a great danger to the Empire. For the colonist, the pioneer, busily at work on his own piece of the earth, no other piece bulks large. It is hard for him to understand the give-and-take which must be the rule between different parts of a widespread dominion. It was undoubtedly right for the Empire that in 1748 we gave back Louisbourg to France to obtain Madras: but it went far to alienate the New-Englanders. So in 1815 we threw away, seemingly, all the good work of Stamford Raffles in Java because Holland's *status* in Europe, trivial without her Eastern colonies, was essential to our European policy. So in 1878-9 the crisis in Turkish affairs loosened our grip and deformed our work in Burma, in Afghanistan, in South Africa; so, too, we compromised with Germany in 1883-4 (see pp. 330-1) to secure her goodwill in Egypt, and abandoned the Soudan in 1885 to be unhampered in dealing with Russia's aggression on Afghanistan. These are the defects of Empire, that must be endured if the Briton is to inhabit nobly what he has built so well. Already he is beginning to understand: the Germanizing of Samoa, barely grumbled at in 1899, would have roused Australia in shrill anger from end to end a very few years back. And he will go on understanding, and acquiescing, and subordinating his own work to the needs of his Empire—so long as his countrymen at home are Imperial too in their requirements, and are not (as all too lately they were) merely endeavouring to shirk the responsi-

bility that Empire brings, the work that belongs to Britons first among the nations of mankind.

"Firm shoulders," said Daudet, "ready to stand the weight of great responsibility." We need such firmness. The quality that has never failed among individuals must now become the common quality of the nation. For, stripped of all vaingloriousness and bragging, the Empire means just this: that we are a stage beyond the rest of the world in national evolution. The "pack" first, then the "tribe"—so science to-day maps out the organization of early societies. So, among the crowd of nations that hunt each for itself, and are a pack only on occasion (for "pack" is the real translation of "Concert"), the British Empire stands alone, a tribe of States, whose nearest congener is the great State-clan of North America that shares our language and most of our ideals. We of the English-speaking communities have been set to build this new structure, this house among tents: that we build it rightly and maintain it undisturbed is work necessary not only for the safety of the Empire, but for the orderly development of organized mankind.

The Empire in Evolution.

APPENDIX A.

COLONIAL ARTICLES OF THE MORE IMPORTANT TREATIES TO WHICH GREAT BRITAIN WAS PARTY.

BREDA, July 1667 (*Eng.—Holl.—France*).

As regards Holland, each party retains its conquests: therefore Britain keeps New York.

As regards France, Britain receives Antigua, Montserrat, and the French half of St Kitts, but returns Acadia. (West Indian provisions "signed only to be broken."—*Lucas.*)

MADRID, July 1670 (*Eng.—Spain*).

Spain formally cedes Jamaica, occupied by Britain since 1655.

RYSWICK, September 1697 (*Eng.—France*).

Conquests mutually restored: a commission to decide questions about Hudson's Bay territory.

THE HAGUE, September 1701 (*Eng.—Holl.—Austria*).

All British and Dutch captures in Spanish America remain theirs, even though an Austrian prince be made King of Spain. France to be entirely shut out from trade with Spanish America.

UTRECHT, April 1713 (*Britain—France*).

Britain obtains Hudson's Bay and Straits, the whole of St Kitts, Acadia "with its ancient boundaries,"

and Newfoundland (except for certain French fishing rights). France keeps Cape Breton and all islands in Gulf of St Lawrence, but acknowledges the "Five Nations" (Iroquois) within British sphere of influence.

UTRECHT, July 1713 (*Britain—Spain*).

Britain obtains Gibraltar and Minorca. Madrid convention of Mar. 1713 confirmed, whereby a British company obtains the Assiento and the right to send one ship a year to trade freely with ports on the Spanish Main.

AIX-LA-CHAPELLE, October 1748 (*Britain—France—Spain*).

Conquests mutually restored, Louisbourg to France, Madras to England. American boundary-disputes referred to a Commission. The Assiento prolonged four years to make up for its interruption by the war.

MADRID, October 1750 (*Britain—Spain*).

Assiento abandoned by Britain for a money compensation.

PARIS, February 1763 (*Britain—France—Spain—Portugal*).

France gives up all claims to Acadia, and cedes to Britain Canada, Cape Breton, and all French territory east of the Mississippi except New Orleans: also Grenada, the Grenadines, St Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago: also the Senegal valley, Minorca, and forts in Sumatra.

France retains fishing rights on the Newfoundland coast and in the Gulf of St Lawrence: gains St Pierre and the Miquelons as fishing stations not to be fortified: and regains Belle Isle, Martinique, Guadeloupe, Marie Galante, Desirade, St Lucia, Goree, and trading-stations in India.

Britain demolishes the forts in Honduras (but British subjects there are not to be molested), and returns Cuba to Spain.

Spain abandons all claims to right of fishery off Newfoundland, and cedes to Britain Florida and all other Spanish territory east of the Mississippi: having already received from France, by way of compensation, New Orleans and Louisiana west of that river. All conquests of any Power that are not mentioned in the treaty are to be restored to their previous owners (Spain thus getting back the Philippines.)

PARIS, September 1783 (*Britain—United States*).

Independence of the United States acknowledged, with boundaries as follows:—

Natural boundaries of Maine to intersection of Connecticut River with lat. 45°: lat. 45° to St Lawrence: middle of St Lawrence and lakes (except Lake Michigan) to north-west corner of Lake of the Woods: thence westerly to source of Mississippi: down Mississippi to 31°, thence east to the Appalachicola, thence to sea. U.S. retain fishing rights on Bank of Newfoundland, and coasts of British N. America. Mississippi River free to ships of both nations.

VERSAILLES, September 1783 (*Britain—France, and Britain—Spain*).

French fishing rights in Newfoundland confirmed: shore-line altered slightly to French advantage. St Pierre and the Miquelons may be fortified.

France returns Grenada, the Grenadines, St Vincent, Dominica, St Kitts, Nevis, Montserrat: gains Tobago and the Senegal valley: regains St Lucia, Goree, and Indian trading-stations.

English traders retain trading rights in Senegal valley.

Spain returns the Bahamas, keeps Minorca, and gains Florida.

British timber-getters allowed in eastern Yucatan (now British Honduras), but their presence does not derogate from Spain's sovereign rights in that region.

PARIS, May 1784 (*Britain—Holland*).

Holland cedes Negapatam, regains Trincomalee, and engages not to interfere with British trade in the East Indies.

AMIENS, March 1802 (*Britain—France—Spain—Holland*).

Britain gives back all colonial conquests except Ceylon and Trinidad : returns the Cape Colony to Holland (*e.g.* the Batavian Republic), and Malta to the Knights of St John.

[The last provision never carried out.]

PARIS, May 1814 (*Britain—France*).

Britain returns all colonies captured from France except Tobago, St Lucia, and Mauritius and its dependencies: and retains Malta. French fisheries in Newfoundland placed on footing before the war.

LONDON, August 1814 (*Britain—Holland*).

Britain returns colonies captured from Holland (exchanging Banca for Cochin), except the Cape Colony and Berbice, Demerara, and Essequibo in Guiana : for which Holland is allowed six millions sterling.

GHENT, December 1814 (*Britain—U.S.A.*).

Boundary questions in Maine and along lakes referred to two commissions. Captures mutually restored.

PARIS, November 1815 (*Britain—France*).

Confirms treaty of 1814.

WASHINGTON, 1817 (*Britain—U.S.A.*).

Arrangement for limitation of naval armament on the Great Lakes.

LONDON, October 1818 (*Britain—U.S.A.*).

United States fishermen kept outside territorial waters of British America, with the exception of Labrador and part of Newfoundland.

Canadian boundary to run along 49° N. from Lake of the Woods to Rocky Mountains. Disputed districts west of Rockies open to both nations for ten years.

LONDON, March 1824 (*Britain—Holland*).

Holland gives up Malacca and all establishments on the continent of India, and withdraws objection to British settlement at Singapore.

Britain gives up all possessions in Sumatra, agrees to make no more settlements or treaties south of Malacca Straits, and withdraws objection to Dutch occupation of Billiton.

ST PETERSBURG, February 1825 (*Britain—Russia*).

Boundary between Alaska and British North America drawn as follows "upon the coast of the continent and the islands of north-west America":

From the southern point of Prince of Wales Island (in lat. 54° 40′ N. and between 131° and 133° W. long.) "north along the channel called Portland Channel," as far as the point of the continent where it intersects 56° N.: thence along "the summit of the mountains situated parallel to the coast" to the point where this ridge meets 141° W. and along 141° W. to the Arctic Ocean.

All Prince of Wales Island to be Russian.

Whenever the summit-ridge is "more than ten marine leagues from the ocean," the boundary to be "a

line parallel to the windings of the coast" and never more than ten marine leagues therefrom.

[The points left in dispute, but subsequently settled by arbitration, were:

(*a*) Which is the "Portland Channel" here mentioned? (What is now called "Portland Canal" is not north of P. of W. Island, and does not reach 56° N.)

(*b*) Do "the ocean" and "the coast" refer to the channels bordering the mainland or the main ocean washing the outer shores of the Archipelago?]

WASHINGTON, August 1842 (Ashburton Treaty, *Britain—U.S.A.*)

Details of the Canadian boundary line from Maine to the Rockies finally settled.

WASHINGTON, June 1846 (*Britain—U.S.A.*)

Line of 49° N. prolonged to sea, and continued south along middle of channel which separates the continent from Vancouver Island.

WASHINGTON, April 1850 (Bulwer-Clayton Treaty, *Britain—U.S.A.*).

The two powers guarantee neutrality of any inter-oceanic canal, mutually disclaim prior rights or exclusive use, and agree not to occupy, fortify or colonize Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito Coast, or any part of Central America. This agreement has no reference to British rights in British Honduras.

WASHINGTON, 1856 (Reciprocity Treaty, *Britain—U.S.A.*).

Fishing rights rearranged for a period of years.

WASHINGTON, May 1871 (*Britain—U.S.A.*).

Vancouver boundary referred to arbitration. Naviga-

tion of St Lawrence, Yukon, Porcupine, and Stickeen Rivers free to both nations. Fishing rights again revised for a period of years.

BRUSSELS, September 1876 (*All European Powers and U.S.A.*).

International African Association formed to open up the continent to civilization.

CONSTANTINOPLE, June 1878 (*Britain—Turkey*).

Turkey allows Britain to occupy and administer Cyprus (indefinitely).

BERLIN (Act), November 1884 to January 1885 (*All European Powers and U.S.A.*).

Congo Free State created. Partition of Africa (*i.e.*, rules to be observed by the Powers in taking possession of unoccupied territories) agreed upon.

ANGLO-GERMAN AGREEMENT, July 1890.

Delimits the possessions of both nations in Central Africa. Britain cedes Heligoland to Germany in return for certain concessions at Zanzibar.

BRUSSELS, July 1890.

Congo Convention makes over the Congo State to King Leopold, to pass ultimately to Belgium.

BEHRING SEA AWARD, 1894 (*Britain—U.S.A.*).

The arbitrators decide that the Behring Sea is not an American *mare clausum* (therefore there is no need to ask for leave to fish there); but they impose a "close time" in every year upon all seal-fishers.

1897. Existing commercial treaties with Belgium and Germany are denounced. (In accordance with their terms it had been impossible for a British

colony to give "preference" to the Mother Country).

November 1899 (*Great Britain—Germany*).

Samoa ceded to Germany in return for certain other islands in the Pacific.

Newfoundland Agreement, 1904 (*Great Britain—France*).

The French lose their "shore rights" and accept equal (in place of privileged) "fishing rights."

New Hebrides Convention, October 1906 (*Great Britain—France*).

Two High Commissioners, appointed by Great Britain and France, are to administer a region of joint influence (including the Banks and Torres Islands).

1908. General arbitration treaty between Great Britain and U.S.A. Great Britain reserves the right of obtaining the concurrence of a self-governing colony before arbitrating upon matters affecting it.

[*In some of the later treaties it is difficult accurately to define time and place, especially where the agreement is the result of the exchange of notes by the contracting powers and not of a definite conference.*]

APPENDIX B.

BRITISH COLONIES AND THEIR CONSTITUTIONS.

Under responsible government:—

CANADA, with Provinces	Quebec (1867)
	Ontario (1867)
	Nova Scotia (1867)
	New Brunswick (1867)
	Manitoba (1870)
	British Columbia (1871)
	Prince Edward Island (1873)
	Alberta (1905)
	Saskatchewan (1905)
and Territories	Ungava
	Keewatin
	Franklin
	Mackenzie
	Yukon
NEWFOUNDLAND and LABRADOR Coast	
AUSTRALIA, with States	New South Wales
	Victoria
	Queensland
	South Australia
	Western Australia
	Tasmania
and Territories	Papua
	Northern Territory
NEW ZEALAND	
SOUTH AFRICA, with Provinces	
	The Cape Colony
	The Transvaal
	Natal
	The Orange Free State

Under a partly elective Council:—

Bahamas	British Guiana	Leeward Islands
Barbados	Fiji	Malta
Bermudas	Jamaica	Mauritius

Cyprus (subject to suzerainty of Turkey)

Southern Rhodesia (subject to rights of Chartered Company)

Under a wholly nominee Council:—

British Honduras	Grenada	Sierra Leone
Ceylon	Hong Kong	Trinidad and
Falkland Islands	St Lucia	Tobago
Gambia	St Vincent	Southern
Gold Coast	Seychelles	Nigeria

Straits Settlements (including Singapore, Penang, and Malacca)

[Each of the four West African colonies in this group is a small coastal district, backed by a much larger protectorate.]

Under direct Crown administration:—

Basutoland	Gibraltar	St Helena

Protectorates under Colonial Office:—

Bechuanaland

Federated Malay States (Perak, Pahang, Selangor, Negri Sembilan, Johore, Kelanton, Kedah, Tringganu)

Northern Rhodesia and Barotseland

Western Pacific Islands (principal groups are Solomons, Tonga, and Gilberts)

Nyassaland

British East Africa (with nominee Council)

Uganda (with nominee Council)

Somaliland

[The above colonies are connected with the Imperial Government through the Colonial Office. Those under responsible government, and a few Crown Colonies and protectorates in their immediate neighbourhood—such as Fiji and the islands of the Western Pacific, and the protectorates of South Africa—communicate with the Dominions Department of that office: the rest are controlled from the Crown Colonies Department.]

Protectorates under the Foreign Office :—

BRUNEI NORTH BORNEO SARAWAK
ZANZIBAR WEIHAIWEI (leased from China)

Under the Admiralty :—

ASCENSION

Under the Indian Government :—

ADEN and PERIM (attached to Bombay Presidency), LACCADIVES (Madras Presidency), ANDAMANS, NICOBARS, KURIAMURIA ISLANDS, BAHREIN, SOCOTRA

Dependencies of various Colonies :—

Of NEW ZEALAND : Auckland, Chatham, Cook, Savage, and Kermadec Islands.
Of CEYLON : Maldives
Of JAMAICA : Turks Islands.
Of SINGAPORE : Labuan, Cocos, and Christmas Islands.

INDEX

[*Wars, Treaties, Conventions, Conferences, Companies, and Associations are indexed under* WARS, TREATIES, CONFERENCES, COMPANIES, *not under their place names.*

Tribes or nations, and their countries are usually indexed together, thus, "Chinese, the," includes references to China.]

ABDUR RAHMAN, 396-7
Abercromby, General J., 88-9, 91, 93
Abyssinia, 336-7, 349-50
Acadia (*see also* Nova Scotia), 27, 30, 55, 59-61, 63-5, 73-9, 82-3, 86-7, 98, 123, 138, 419-20
Acts of Parliament :
  Australian Colonies Duties, 380
  Australian Commonwealth, 384
  Australian Government, 247-8, 253, 255-6, 268-9, 271-2
  Australian Land, 268
  Canada, 124, 131-2
  Declaratory, 108
  Dominion, 368
  Emancipation, 44, 303
  India (1784-6), 180
  Navigation, 42, 46-8, 68-9, 107, 138, 275
  Quebec, 103, 112, 123
  Regulating, 167-9
  Stamp, 107-8, 117
  Union, 137
Adams, Samuel, 112, 122, 134, 330
Aden, 52, 415, 409
Afghanistan the land-route to India, 52, 145
Afghans, the, 157-8, 188, 195, 197, 205-6, 209, 210, 396-8, 401
Afghans, the, in Australia, 385
Africa, physical features of, 273-4, 287
Africa, Central,[1] 11, 286
Africa, East,[1] 283-4, 335-41
Africa, South,[1] 4, 5, 11, 15, 51-2, 287-333, 354-66
Africa, West,[1] 4, 16, 53, 233, 274-82, 335-7, 341-5
Afridis, the, 401
Agra, 191, 193, 220, 222
Ahmed Shah, 157-8
Akbar, 53, 157
Alaska, 374-7, 423
Albany (U.S.A.), 32, 60, 72, 79, 84, 87, 101, 105
Albany (W.A.), 258, 379
Algeria, 336, 342
Algoa Bay, 48, 289, 293, 304, 315
Aliverdy Khan, 154
Aliwal, 207
Almeida, Francisco de, 49, 51
Amboyna massacre, the, 49
Amherst, General J., 91-5, 97
Amherst, Lord, 198
Angra Pequena, 334-5
Annapolis (*see also* Port Royal), 63, 74-8
Arabs, the, 283, 336
Arawaks, the, 34-5
Arbitrations :
  Behring Sea, 374

[1] See also under political divisions.

Arbitrations—*continued.*
Delagoa Bay, 285
Maine boundary, 139
Vancouver boundary, 141, 424
Venezuela boundary, 378
Arcot, 150
Argaum, 191, 193
Arnold, Benedict, 114, 118
Arthur, Sir George, 253-4
Ascension I., 415, 429
Ashantis, the, 280-2, 345
Ashburton, Lord (Evelyn Baring), 139, 296
Assam, 198, 395
Assaye, 191, 194
Assiento, the, 14, 64, 276, 420
Auckland, 272, 381
Auckland, Lord, 205
Australasia,[1] history of, 226-72, 378-89, 416
Australia,[1] 4, 13, 15, 127, 132, 411, 425
Australia, aborigines of, 229, 254, 261
Australia, history of, 226-52, 255-61, 268-72
Austria, 3, 63, 69, 280, 401

Bahamas, the, 35, 37, 421, 426
Bahrein, 415, 427
Bahr el Ghazal, the, 344, 347, 351
Baker, Sir S., 286, 346
Ballarat, 251, 271-2
Baltimore, Lord, 30, 33
Baluchs, the, 398, 400, 415
Banks, Sir J., 232, 237
Bantu, the (*see* "Kaffirs, the," and under tribal names)
Barbados, 33, 36-9, 42, 44, 426
Baring, Ev. (*see* Ashburton, Lord)
Baring, Sir E. (*see* Cromer, Lord)
Baroda, 190-1
Barth, Dr H., 280, 286
Bass, George, 237-8
Bassein, 170-2, 191
Basutos, the, 299, 315-7, 318, 322, 324, 329, 426
Batavian Republic, the, 290, 292, 294, 422
Bathurst (N.S.W.), 243, 246, 248, 251, 270
Baxar, 159
Bay of Islands, the, 261-4, 266
Beaconsfield, Earl of (*see* Disraeli, Benjamin)
Bechuanas, the, 298, 300, 331-2, 426
Beira, 356
Benares, 160, 166, 175
Bendigo, 270-1
Bengal, 13, 108, 145, 151-3, 166-9, 173-4, 179, 182-5, 187, 202, 215, 221, 395
Bengal, British conquest of, 154-63
Bengal, Council, the (*see* East India Company, the)
Bengal, Land Settlement in, 181-4, 202
Bentinck, Lord William, 198-205
Berlin Act, the, 336, 341
Berlin Decree, the, 126-7
Bermudas, the, 36-8, 136, 319, 414, 426
Berar, 190-1, 208, 214
Bhutan, 396
Bligh, Admiral W., 241-2
Blue Mountains (N.S.W.), the, 237, 239
Boers, the, in the Cape Colony, 241, 289-96, 302, 319, 356-62
Boers, the, their Great Trek, 305-10
Boers, the, in Natal, 308-14
Boers, the, in the Transvaal, 307, 314, 316-7, 326-33, 354-62
Boers, the, their characteristics, 5, 289, 293
Bombay, 13, 50, 52, 145, 151, 155, 157, 202, 221, 329, 393
Bombay, Council, the (*see* East India Company, the)
Boomplaatz, 316
Borneo, 226, 404, 406-7, 427
Boscawen, Admiral E., 92, 97, 148
Boston, 27, 30, 76, 106-7, 109, 111-4
Botany Bay, 231-4
Bourke, Sir R., 246, 248, 252, 256, 262
Braddock, General E., 83-7
Bradstreet, General J., 88, 92, 101, 103
Breed's (Braid's, Bunker's) Hill, 113
Brisbane, 238, 249, 257, 269
Brisbane, Sir T., 246-8, 252

[1] See also under separate colonies.

British Central Africa, 349, 395
British Columbia, 143, 369, 370, 425
British East Africa, 337-41, 395, 426
British Guiana, 12, 43, 45, 294, 376-7, 395, 407, 422, 426
British Honduras, 40-1, 253, 421-2, 424, 426
Britons as colonizers, 9-15, 337-8, 354, 416-8
Brooke, Sir James, 406-7
Buccaneers, the, 38-41, 43
Buffer-states in Asia, 160, 165, 188, 412
Buffer-states in South Africa, 304-5, 315
Buller, Charles, 136
Buluwayo, 11, 355-6, 359
Burgoyne, General J., 113-4, 116-8
Burke, Edmund, 176-7, 179
Burmese, the, 197-8, 211-2, 221, 401-3, 412-3
Busby, James, 262
Bussy-Castelnau, Marquis de, 150-2, 155

CABOT, JOHN, 17
Calcutta, 50, 53, 154-5, 160, 163, 169, 204, 219
Caledon, the Earl of, 293, 296, 301
Cameroons, the, 11, 335, 337, 341
Campbell, Sir Colin (Lord Clyde), 222
Canada, French, 28-30, 42, 46, 56, 98
Canada, British, 5, 14, 100-3, 111, 113-6, 121-42, 367-78, 420, 422-4
Canada, the Dominion of, 4, 368-75, 386, 414, 425
Canada, Lower (*see* Quebec)
Canada, Upper (*see* Ontario)
Canning, Lord, 216, 221, 224-5, 285
Canterbury (N.Z.), 268, 272
Cape Breton I., 59, 73-4, 420
Cape Coast Castle, 53, 270, 280, 282
Cape Colony, the, under Dutch rule, 62, 273, 287-92, 422
Cape Colony, the, under British rule, 5, 195, 291-7, 299, 305, 314-26, 335, 422, 425
Cape of Good Hope, the, 50-1, 274
Caribs, the, 34-8, 41-2
Carleton, Sir G. (Lord Dorchester), 102, 114-5, 124
Carnarvon, Lord, 325-6, 328, 330
Carnatic, the, 148-50, 152, 172-3, 188
Carolinas, the, 28, 33, 79, 111, 119, 188
Cartier, Jacques, 19, 29
Cathcart, Earl, 138
Cathcart, Sir G., 316, 320
Cawnpore, 220-3, 225
Cetywayo, 313, 327, 329
Ceylon, 49, 147, 292, 405, 415, 422, 426
Chait Singh, 175-6
Champlain, Lake, 28, 57, 72, 76, 78, 89, 93-4, 129, 135
Champlain, Samuel, 28-9, 32
Chanceler, Richard, 20
Chandernagore, 154-5
Charles I, 27, 30, 34, 36, 231-2
Charles II, 27, 32-4, 38, 42, 47, 232, 274
Charleston (U.S.A.), 33, 109, 119
Chartered Companies (*see* Companies)
Charters, Colonial, 27, 33-4, 105, 111
Chilianwala, 210
Chinese, the, 215, 219, 236, 239, 346, 403, 407-12
Chinese, the, in British Colonies, 5, 13, 233-4, 385
Chinese, the, trade with, 195, 203, 404-7, 411, 415
Chitral, 12, 208, 398, 399
Clapperton, Hugh, 280
Clavering, Sir John, 170, 173
Clergy Reserves in Ontario, the, 132, 134, 138
Clinton, General H., 113, 116-9
Clive, Lord, 150-2, 155-6, 158-62, 164-6, 180, 200, 354
Cloete, Henry, 313
Cole, Sir Lowry, 300
Colbert, Jean-Baptiste, 29, 51
Colley, Sir G., 331
Collins, Captain D., 238, 252, 255
Colonial policy, our:
Doctrinaire, 138, 182, 199-201, 267, 296, 330

Colonial policy, our—*continued.*
Mercantile (the "old colonial system"), 45-8, 68
Separatist, 272, 281, 318, 325, 330, 347, 382, 389
Committees of Correspondence, the, 112, 134
Companies, Chartered and Trading (British):[1]
Early West African, 53
Royal African, 274, 276-7
African of Merchants, 277-80
Sierra Leone, 279
Royal Niger, 342-4
Imperial British East African, 339-40
British South Africa (*see also* Rhodesia), 355-6
London of Virginia, 23, 25, 30, 33, 36
Plymouth of Virginia, 23-5, 30
Massachusetts, 13, 26
Hudson's Bay, 30, 140-3, 369
South Sea, 66-9, 276
Ohio, 80
North-West, 140-2
East India (*see under separate heading*)
North Borneo, 407
Companies, Colonizing and Exploring:
in Africa, 279, 333-4
in New Zealand, 261, 263, 265-8, 272
in South Australia, 259-60
in West Australia, 258
Conferences and Conventions:
at Albany (1754), 84
at Berlin (1884-5), 335-6
at Brussels (1876), 333
Federal, in Australia, 383, 386-9
Federal, in Canada, 367-8
at New York (1690), 61
at New York (1765), 107-8
Congo Free State, the, 334-5, 337, 350, 356
Congo, French, 11, 333, 337, 380
Congo River, the, 274, 280, 286, 334
Congress (U.S.A.), First Continental, 112-3
Congress (U.S.A.), Second Continental, 113-8, 122
Congress (U.S.A.), of 1811, 128
Constitutional changes in Australasia, 247-8, 255-7, 259, 261, 267-72, 380-1, 388-9
Constitutional changes in British America, 124, 131, 133, 136-8, 368
Constitutional changes in South Africa, 300, 302, 319-20
Conventions (*see* Conferences *or* Treaties)
Convicts in America, 41-2, 232
Convicts in Australasia, 233-7, 242-5, 248-9, 253-7, 259, 319, 383-4
Convicts in South Africa, 52, 318-9
Cook, Captain James, 142, 230-1, 234
Coolie labour, 45, 395, 407
Coote, Sir Eyre, 152-3, 171, 173-4
Cornwallis, Lord, 119-20, 180-5, 194, 202
Coromandel coast, the, 148-9, 172
Council of Plantations, the, 42
Craig, Sir J. H., 291, 293
Cromwell, Oliver, 27, 38-9, 41-3, 232, 354
Crown Point, 57, 72, 83, 85-8, 94, 114, 116
Cuba, 35, 39, 45, 98, 378, 421
Cunningham, Allan, 248-50, 257
Cyprus, 415, 426

Da Gama, Vasco, 48
Dalhousie, the Marquess of, 202, 204, 208-17, 394, 402
Dampier, William, 229
Darien, 17, 35, 63
Darling, Sir R., 246
Darling River, the, 249-50
D'Urban, Sir B., 301-6
Deccan, the (*see also* Hyderabad), 53, 144-53, 155, 160, 163-4, 170, 184, 201, 221, 394
Declaration of Independence, the, 115
Delagoa Bay, 283-5, 307, 327, 357

[1] For foreign companies see under their respective nationalities.

Delhi, 53, 154, 157, 159-60, 163-4, 185, 190-4, 202, 215, 217, 220-1
Detroit, 60, 64, 94, 101, 128, 130, 135
Dieskau, Baron L., 87-8
Dingaan, 298-300, 309-12
Dingaan's Day, 309, 313, 330
Dinwiddie, Robert, 80-1, 83
Disraeli, Benjamin, 324, 326, 330
Diwani, the, 161, 163, 165
Dost Mohammed, 205-6, 209, 224, 396, 397
Drake, Francis, 20-1, 35, 38, 49, 50
Dundas, Henry, 180, 186, 192
Dupleix, Joseph, 147-51, 170, 177
Duquesne, Fort, 81, 84-5, 92, 101
Durand, Sir M., 400
Durban, 298, 309, 311-3, 361
Durham, Lord, 12, 136-7
Dutch, the, as colonizers, 7, 10, 11, 46
Dutch, the, in America, 25-6, 32, 36, 38-40, 62, 377
Dutch, the, in Australasia, 228-9, 383
Dutch, the, in South Africa, 51, 283-4, 287-92, 312
Dutch, the, in the Indies, 49, 50, 146, 156-7, 172, 202, 404
Dutch, the, in the slave-trade, 34, 275-6
Dutch, the, in West Africa, 274, 277, 282

East India Company, the, 13, 14, 50-1, 77, 109, 146-51, 154-81, 186-9, 192-5, 199-201, 203, 216-8, 224, 287, 302
East India Company, the, in China and Malaysia, 50, 195, 199, 203, 404-8
East India Company, Bengal Council of the, 156, 158-60, 163, 165, 167-71, 174-5
East India Company, Bombay Council of the, 151, 163, 170-2
East India Company, charters of the, 180, 195, 200, 203, 406
East India Company, directors of the, 150, 159, 165, 170, 172, 176-7, 192-3, 200-1
East India Company, Madras Council of the, 149, 155, 163-4, 172-4, 177
Edict of Nantes, the, 62, 288
Edward, Fort, 72, 89, 116
Edwardes, Sir Herbert, 209
Egypt, 49, 53, 125, 335, 337, 345-53
Elizabeth, Queen, 8, 16, 20, 23-4, 35, 39, 46, 53
Emancipists, the, 245-8
Empires, ancient and modern, 1-7
Eric, Lake, 60, 64, 72, 80, 129-135
Eureka Stockade, the, 271
Explorations in Africa, 53, 279-80
Explorations in America, 17-21, 26, 28-30, 32, 35-6, 73, 80
Explorations in Australasia, 226-31, 236-8, 243-4, 248-51, 379-80

Falkland Islands, the, 414-5, 426
"Family Compact," the Bourbon, 69, 98
"Family Compact," the, in Canada, 133, 142
Federal Schemes in Australia, 384-8
Federal Schemes in Canada, 367-8
Federal Schemes in South Africa, 323-4, 326, 329, 356-8, 360-1, 364-5
Fiji, 229, 382, 383, 415, 426
Fingoes, the, 299, 305, 316, 320, 328
Firozshah, 207
Flinders, Matthew, 237-8
Florida, 17, 28, 98, 120-1, 421
Francis, Sir Philip, 168-70, 176-7, 183
Franklin, Benjamin, 84, 105, 107, 121, 139
Franklin, Sir John, 255
Freetown, 279-80, 415
French, the, as colonizers, 7, 10-12, 46, 412
French, the, in Africa, 52, 277-9, 290, 335-7, 341-5, 346-7, 350-3
French, the, in Australasia, 233, 257, 262-3, 382-4, 415
French, the, in the East Indies, 50, 74, 147-55, 172-4, 184-7, 192, 194-5, 202, 204-5, 402, 408-13

French, the, in North America, 18, 55-64, 71-99, 105, 139, 368
French, the, in the West Indies, 36-40, 42, 62, 98, 118, 377-8
Frere, Sir Bartle, 326, 328-30, 334
Frobisher, Martin, 20
Frontenac, Comte de, 60, 61
Fulahs, the, 15, 275, 342, 344

GAEKWAR, the (*see* Baroda)
Gambia, the, 53, 279-81, 337, 343, 426
Ganges River and Valley, the, 144-5, 157, 159-60, 165-6, 202, 220, 223, 394
Gates, General H., 116-7, 119
Gawler, Colonel G., 260
George I, 65
George, Lake (U.S.A.), 57, 87, 93
Georgia, 32, 59
German Empire, the, 3, 333
Germans, the, as colonizers, 8, 10, 11
Germans, the, in Africa, 333-41, 355-8
Germans, the, in Australasia, 383-4, 415
Germans, the, in China, 410
Gibraltar, 65, 120-1, 413, 415, 420-6
Gilbert, Sir Humphrey, 21-2, 30
Gilgit, 400
Gipps, Sir George, 265, 269
Gladstone Ministry, the (1880-5), 330-2, 334, 346-7
Goddard, Colonel T., 171-2
Gold Coast, the, 280-2, 343, 426
Gold as a colonizing impulse, 10, 17, 20, 22-3, 35-6
Gold in Australia, 210-11, 380
Gold in South Africa, 327, 354-5
Goldie, Sir G. T., 341
Gordon, Charles, 346-50, 372, 409
Goree, 98, 278, 420-1
Gough, Lord, 209
Goulburn (N.S.W.), 244, 246, 248-9, 251
Grenville, George, 48, 106-8, 117
Grey, Earl, 269, 318-9
Grey, Sir George, in Australasia, 259-60, 266-7, 272, 380-1
Grey, Sir George, in South Africa, 321-6, 354
Griquas, the, 304, 305, 315, 321, 325
Grose, Major F., 239-40
Guadeloupe, 38, 43, 420
Guiana (*see also* British Guiana), 35-6, 39, 376, 426
Gujrat, 193, 210
Gurkhas, the, 197, 217, 223
Gwalior, 172, 206, 220

HABIBULLAH, 398
Haiti, 34, 43
Hakluyt, Richard, 21, 23
Halifax, 78-9, 82, 86, 89
Hardinge, Lord, 202, 207-10
Hastings, Lord, 196, 406
Hastings, Warren, 165-80, 183-5, 204, 208, 405
Hatteras, Cape, 18
Havelock, Sir H., 222-3
Haviland, 97
Hawke, Admiral E., 77, 97
Hawkins, John, 20, 35, 53
Hentys, the, 251, 255
Herat, 209, 398
Hindus, the (*see also* India), 146, 160, 187, 218-9, 389
Hindus, the, as coolies, 13, 45, 392
Hindus, the, their characteristics and customs, 154, 181-2, 201, 202, 389
Hindus, the, their religious hatreds, 54, 157, 197
Hobart, 238, 252, 319
Hobson, Captain W., 264, 265
Hofmeyr, Jan, 357-8, 360-1
Holkar, 190-1, 193-4
Hongkong, 406, 408, 410, 414-5, 426
Hottentots, the, 51, 287, 289, 301-2
Hovell, 249, 250
Howe, General W., 116
Howe, Lord, 92
Hudson's Bay, 18, 20, 30, 32, 62, 64, 73, 82, 141, 419
Hudson River, the, 23, 25, 32, 57, 59-60, 72, 87, 114, 116, 118
Huguenots, the, 28, 32-4, 61-3, 288
Hume, Hamilton, 240, 244, 249, 250, 255
Hunter, John, 236-7, 239-41
Hunter River, the, 237, 248, 251
Hunza, 398

Hyder Ali, 163-4, 173, 187
Hyderabad (*see also* Nizam, the), 145, 150-2, 163, 186-9, 191, 204, 212, 224, 395

India (*see also under names of separate states and tribes*), 5, 45, 144-225, 389-404
India, its physical features, 144-5
India, history of, under native rulers, 53-4, 145-6, 149-51, 153-8, 212-15
India, history of, under the E.I.C., 13, 14, 49-53, 158-67, 170-224
India, history of, under the Crown, 6, 12, 224-5, 389-404
India the goal of European expansion, 16-8, 48, 413
Indians, the Red, 11, 12, 15, 58-61, 63, 73-6, 78-80, 85, 87, 88-9, 100-2, 104, 115, 116, 128, 130, 370-2
Ireland, 8, 21-2, 38
Iroquois, the, 83-4, 101, 118, 128
Ismail, Pasha, 349
Italy, 336-7, 339, 349-50
Jamaica, 35, 38, 40-3, 45, 47, 276, 279, 376, 419, 426
James I, 23-6, 29, 34, 36, 46
Jameson, Dr, 358-60
Japan, 405, 409-11
Java, 50, 195, 226, 228, 404-5, 417
Jefferson, 122
Johannesburg, 357-8-9, 60
Johnson, Sir William, 79, 83, 87-8, 93, 101, 103

Kabul, 206, 224, 397-8, 400
Kaffirs, the, 289-92, 294-5, 301-2, 304-5, 307, 309-10, 312, 327-9
Kanakas, the, 233-4, 379, 382, 385, 387
Kandahar, 53, 205-6, 397-8
Kashmir, 197, 208, 398
Kavanagh, 223
Keate Award, the, 325
Kennedy, 379
Khama, 327
Khartoum, 346, 348-51
Kimberley, 354, 362
King, Philip Gidley, 235, 238, 240-1
Kitchener, Lord, 338, 350, 362
Klondike, 374
Kosas, the, 289, 291, 295, 299, 305, 320-1, 329
Kruger, Paul, 307, 329, 332, 354, 359-62

Labourdonnais, Mahé, de, 148, 177
Labrador, 17, 20, 102, 425
Labuan, 407, 427
Lagos, 281, 344-5
Lahore, 157, 195, 207
Lake, General, 191-3
Lally, Comte de, 152-3
Laswari, 191, 193
Lawrence, Henry, 210
Lawrence, John (Lord Lawrence), 207, 210, 221, 223, 396
Le Loutre, 78-9, 86
Leopold, King of Belgium, 333, 335
Lexington, 112
Livingstone, David, 286, 336
Lobengula, 327, 355-6
Lockhart, Sir W., 401
Loudoun, the Earl of, 88-9
Louis XIV, 29, 42, 62-5
Louisbourg, 74-9, 83-4, 86, 89, 91-3, 148, 417
Louisiana, 29, 64, 72, 78, 80, 104, 125, 127
Loyalists, the, 113, 120, 123-4, 128, 130, 133, 232, 234
Lucknow, 220, 222
Lugard, Sir F., 344
Lupton, 348

Macarthur, John, 240-2
Macartney, Lord, 291
Macaulay, Lord, 198, 204
Macdonald, Sir John, 371-3
M'Donnell, Lieut., 262-3
Mackenzie, William Lyon, 133-5
Mackinnon, Sir W., 339
Maclean, Captain George, 281-2
Macquarie, Lachlan, 242-6, 248, 252, 262
Macquarie Harbour, 253
Macquarie River, the, 243-4, 249
Madras (city), 50, 77, 146, 148-52, 155, 163, 173, 185, 417
Madras (presidency), 167, 171, 187-8, 198, 202, 221, 393

Mahdi, 347-9
Mahé, 173
Mahrattas, the, 54, 146, 149, 151, 157-8, 160, 163-6, 170-5, 179, 182-3, 187-94, 196, 218, 221-2, 390-1, 406
Maine, 26, 58, 75, 138, 421-2
Majuba, 331, 334
Malacca, 49, 405-6, 423
Malaysia, 5, 16, 49-50, 147, 228, 283, 406, 411, 426
Malta, 415, 422, 426
Manitoba (*see also* Red River Settlement), 369, 371, 425
Maoris, the (*and see* New Zealand), 229, 261-8, 381-2
Maritz, 307
Marsden, Samuel, 262
Mashonas, the, 356
Massachusetts, 13, 26-7, 59, 61-2, 75, 87, 104, 109, 111-14, 117, 139
Matabele, the, 298-300, 306-8
Mauritius, 52, 195, 290, 415, 422, 426
Mehemet Ali, 345, 351
Melbourne, 249, 251, 256, 269-70, 319, 379
Melville Island, 257
Métis, the, 142, 369, 371
Mexico, 17, 18, 35, 40, 68, 140-1
Middleton, General, 372
Milan Decree, the, 126-7
Mill, James, 204
Minorca, 64, 90, 98, 120-1, 420-1
Minto, Lord, 195, 405
Mir Jafar, 155-6, 159-60
Missionary influence in New Zealand, 262
Missionary influence in East Africa, 286, 340, 344
Missionary influence in South Africa, 292, 300, 304-5
Mississippi River, the, 17, 28, 56, 58, 73, 80, 82, 98, 104, 117, 121, 140, 420-1
Mitchell, Sir Thomas, 249-50, 251, 255, 379
Moffat, Robert, 355
Moguls, the, 53-4, 145-6, 153, 157, 161, 164, 173, 182, 192, 217, 220-1
Mohawk River, the, 57, 79, 84, 92, 116, 123
Mombasa, 285, 342
Monongahela, 87
Monroe, James, 377
Montcalm, the Marquis de, 88-94, 107
Montgomery, 114
Montreal, its founding, 19, 29
Montreal in French hands, 57, 60, 61, 63, 72-3, 75-6, 80, 82, 87, 93, 98, 100, 105
Montreal in British hands, 111, 114, 124, 130-1, 134-5, 138, 371
Moreton Bay (*see also* Queensland), 249, 252, 256-7, 272, 379
Morosi, 329
Moselekatze, 298, 308, 355
Moshesh, 299, 315-6, 322
Mount-Stephen, Lord, 371
Mozambique, 16, 48-9, 283, 336
Murray, General, 97, 102
Murray, General James, 193
Murray River, the, 244, 249-50, 259-60
Mudki, 207
Multan, 209
Murrumbidgee River, the, 244, 249-50
Mutiny, the Great, 12, 184, 204, 209, 216-25, 389
Mysore, 146, 160, 163, 173-6, 179, 185, 187-9, 193, 204, 213
Muscat, 283, 285, 415

NAGPUR, 208, 213
Nana Sahib, 218-9, 221-2, 225
Napier, Sir C., 208
Napier, Sir George, 311-2, 315
Napoleon Bonaparte, 15, 52, 125-9, 185-6, 191, 194-5, 238, 257, 293, 405, 414
Natal, 13, 297-9, 306, 308-15, 316, 320, 325, 328-9, 331, 356-7, 364, 395, 425
National Debt, the, 14, 15, 66
Navigation Acts, the (*see* Acts)
Nelson, Lord, 126-7
Nepal, 197, 223-4
New Brunswick, 123-4, 138-9, 367-8, 425
New Caledonia, 382-3
New England, 24-7, 32, 38, 47, 56-63, 71, 74-7, 82-4, 86, 88-9,

New England—*continued.* 101, 103-5, 114-7, 119, 128, 130
New Guinea, 226-31, 353, 383, 387
New Hampshire, 61
New Hebrides, 227, 382
New Orleans, 62, 80, 82, 88, 129, 421
New South Wales, 94, 234-53, 257-8, 268-71, 379, 380, 386, 425
New York (city), 32, 39, 72, 109, 111, 114, 116-9, 128, 138
New York (Colony and State), 32, 56-8, 60, 61, 72, 75, 79, 83-4, 101, 104-5, 113-4, 120, 129, 134-5
New Zealand, 101, 228-30, 235, 261-8, 272, 323-4, 380-3, 416, 425
Newfoundland, 17-9, 22, 26, 30, 62, 64-6, 102, 278, 368, 420-1, 425
Niagara, Fort, 60-72, 84, 88, 93, 128-9, 131, 135
Nicholson, 223
Niger River and Valley, the (and Nigeria), 13, 53, 273-4, 279-80, 286, 335, 337, 345-8, 426
Nile River and Valley, the, 274, 286, 349-54
Nipissing, Lake, 72, 141
Nizam, the (*and see* Hyderbad), 163, 173-4, 184-9, 191, 213-4
Nizam-ul-Mulk, 148, 150
Norfolk Island, 235-6, 238
North, Lord, 166-7 170, 176
Nova Scotia (*see also* Acadia), 14, 29, 58, 102, 123-4, 138-9, 279, 367-8, 425
Nundkhomar, 166, 169, 175
Nyassaland, 13, 286, 336, 356

Ohio River and Valley, the, 56, 59, 60, 80-1, 84-5, 89, 94, 110
Oil Rivers, the, 274, 276
Ontario, Lake, 58, 72, 79, 84, 89, 92, 93, 97, 101, 117-9, 123, 131
Ontario, Province of, 133-4, 138, 367-9, 371, 425
Orange River, the, 298-9, 304, 307, 315-6, 324
Orange River Colony, the (formerly Orange Free State), 316-7, 321-2, 324-7, 356-7, 363, 426
Oregon, 21, 139-42
Oswego, 72, 79, 88-9, 129
Otago, 268, 272
Ottawa, 101, 138, 370
Ottawa River, the, 19, 28, 61, 72, 123-4, 131, 138
Otter, Colonel, 372
Oudh, 145, 156, 159-60, 163-4, 168, 175-84, 188-9, 193, 201, 204, 208, 212-15, 218-22, 224
Owen, Captain W. F., 284-5
Oxley, John, 243, 248-50

Paardeberg, 362, 376
Panama, 35, 40, 382
Panda, 310, 313, 329
Panipat, 157-8
Papineau, Louis J., 133-4
Park, Mungo, 237, 279-80
Parkes, Sir Henry, 385
Pegu, 208, 212
Penang, 405-6
Pennsylvania, 32, 56, 81, 86, 101, 104-5, 111, 115, 117-8
Perim, 415, 427
Persia, 195, 205, 219, 283, 398, 414
Perth (W. A.), 258, 379
Peru, 17, 35, 63, 227
Peshawur, 197, 206, 208, 224, 397, 398-9
Philadelphia, 84, 112-3, 116, 118
"Philanthropists," the, 166, 182, 204, 292, 299-305, 311, 314
Philippine Islands, the, 98, 227, 421
Phillip, Arthur, 233-6, 239
Pieter's Hill, 362
Pindaris, the, 194, 197, 406
Pitt, William (Lord Chatham), 63, 90-3, 97-8, 106, 108, 112, 118, 120
Pitt, William (the younger), 123-4, 131, 177, 180
Plassey, 156, 163, 218
Plattsburg, 57, 129
Plymouth (England), 23, 26, 265
Polk, President, 141
Pondicherry, 148, 153, 172
Pondos, the, 298, 312, 314-5, 320-1
Pontiac, 100-1, 107
Poona, 146, 171, 190-1, 391
"Pope's Line," the, 17-8, 226
Port Arthur, 253

Port Darwin, 13, 228, 379, 380
Port Jackson, 234
Port Macquarie, 244, 248
Port Phillip, 238, 249, 252, 255-7, 269
Port Royal, 28-9, 60, 63
Portland (Victoria), 251, 255
Portuguese, the, as colonizers, 7, 8, 16-8, 46-48, 231
Portugu , the, in Africa, 16, 48, 52, 273-7, 283-5, 334, 336-7, 355-7
Portuguese, the, in Asia, 10, 16, 18, 48-9, 52
Portuguese, the, in Australasia, 226-7
Potgieter, 307-8
Pretoria, 327-8, 331-2, 359
Pretorius, 309-10, 312-4, 316
Prevost, General, 129
Prideaux, 93
Prince Edward Island, 124, 142, 368, 425
Punjab, the, 157, 194, 208-10, 215, 220, 390, 403
Puritans, the, 25-6, 34

Quebec (city), 28-30, 59-64, 76, 82, 88, 93-4, 114, 119, 138
Quebec (Province of), 124-5, 131-4, 136-7, 367-9, 371, 425
Queensland (*see also* Moreton Bay), 231, 238, 249, 252, 256, 272, 379-80, 383, 385, 425
Quetta, 397-8

Raffles, Sir Stamford, 405-6, 417
Ramesay, 96-7
Rajputs, the, 146, 194, 197, 212, 220, 395
Raleigh, Sir Walter, 21-3, 35, 354
Ranjit Singh, 195, 197, 205-7
Red Indians, the (*see* Indians, Red)
Red River Settlement, the, 142, 369-70
Retief, Piet, 307-10
Rhode Island, 26, 118
Rhodes, Cecil, 354-60
Rhodesia, 4, 356-8, 360-1, 426
Richardson, 280
Riel, Louis, 369, 372
Roberts, Lord, 362, 397
Rodney, Admiral G., 92, 121
Rogers, Robert, 89, 100, 103
Rohillas, the, 164-5, 168, 172, 189
Rose, Sir Hugh, 223-4
Rosmead, Lord, 359
Russell, Lord John, 127, 257, 312, 382
Russia, 3, 140, 195, 205, 215, 374, 383, 423
Russian advance in Asia, the, 12, 205, 393, 397-8, 402, 408-10
Ryots, the, 182, 202, 218

St Helena, 52, 413, 415, 426
St Kitts, 37, 63, 419, 421
St Lawrence River and Valley, 19, 28-9, 56-9, 73-4, 82, 93-4, 114, 129, 131, 134, 137, 139, 421, 424
St Lucia, 38, 42, 100, 420-2, 426
St Vincent, 38, 420-1, 426
Salabut Jung, 150, 152, 163
Samoa, 383-4, 415, 417
Sandeman, Sir Robert, 398, 400
Saratoga, 57, 76, 117
Sarawak, 406, 427
Scots, the, as colonizers, 8, 29, 38, 63, 268
Sekukuni, 327, 330
Senegambia and the Senegal River, 278-80, 336, 342, 350, 420-1
Sepoys, the, 152, 156, 161, 184, 201, 217-23
Shepstone, Sir T., 328, 330
Sher Ali, 396-7
Sheridan, 177
Shirley, William, 75-6, 83, 86, 88
Shore, Sir John, 183, 185
Shortland, Lieutenant, 265
Shuja-ud-daula, 159-60, 165, 168
Siam, 403, 412-3
Sierra Leone, 279-81, 335, 343, 426
Sikhs, the, 12, 13, 146, 158, 195, 197, 206-10, 217, 220-1
Sinde, 195, 205-6
Sindhia, 190-1, 193-4, 206, 220, 222, 224
Singapore, 13, 406, 423
Siraj-ud-daula, 154-5
Slavery and the slave trade, 34-5, 43-4, 49, 53, 274-5, 283-4, 302-3, 311
Slavery and the slave trade, abolition of, 44, 278-80, 286, 303, 344

Smith, Sir Harry, 304, 316, 319, 322
Smith, John, 23-4
Sobraon, 207
Socotra, 415, 427
Sokoto, 275, 280, 341
Solomon Islands, the, 227, 383
Somaliland, 337, 415, 427
Somerset, Lord Charles, 294-5, 300, 302, 304
Sorell, Colonel W., 253
South Africa (*see* Africa, South)
South Australia, 234, 250, 259-61, 268-9, 379-80, 425
Spain, 3, 4, 62, 64-6, 70, 99, 120-1, 125, 143, 241
Spain, colonial policy of, 3, 4, 10, 45-6, 49, 54, 70, 106
Spaniards in the East Indies, the, 10, 49, 227, 421
Spaniards in America, the, 4, 7, 8, 10, 12, 16-8, 20-2, 34-41, 62, 66, 68-71, 98, 104, 140, 276, 419-22
"Squatters," the, 251-2, 260, 268
Stanley, Henry, 333-4, 339
Stanley, Lord, 312-3
Straits Settlements, the, 406, 426
Strathcona, Lord, 371
Sturt, Charles, 249-50, 259, 379
Suakin, 347, 349, 372
Sudan, the, 48, 280, 346-9
Sudan, the Egyptian, 349, 353
Suffren, 405
Sumatra, 49, 50, 404, 406, 420, 423
Superior, Lake, 19, 28, 73, 81, 88, 128, 141, 371
Swazis, the, 298-9, 310, 327
Swedes, the, as colonizers, 7, 32
Sydney (N.S.W.), 234-5, 237, 239, 250, 252, 256-7, 269, 319

TAHITI, 230, 235, 384
Tanganyika, Lake, 286, 333, 339, 365
Tanjore, 146, 149-51, 172, 188
Taranaki, 263, 265, 272, 381
Tasman, Abel, 228-30
Tasmania, 228-31, 234-5, 237-8, 242, 254-6, 270-1, 386, 425
Tchad, Lake, 11, 273, 280
Tchaka, 297-9, 306, 309
Tel-el-Kebir, 347
Theebaw, 402
Thierry, Baron de, 263
Ticonderoga, 57, 87, 88, 92-3, 114
Timbuctoo, 53, 279-80, 342
Tipu, 174, 184-7
Tirah, 401
Tobago, 38-9, 42, 420-2, 426
Toronto, 134-5, 138
Torres, Luis Vaez de, 227-8
Torres Strait, 228-9, 231, 384
Townshend, Charles, 108, 112, 233
Trade, influence of, on colonization, 8-10, 13-4, 46, 66-8, 341
Trafalgar, 125-7
Transportation system, the (*see also* Convicts), 41-2, 231-2, 255, 259
Transvaal, the, 285, 298, 307, 316-7, 324-35, 356-8, 426
Treaties and Conventions:
  Aix-la-Chapelle, 77, 148, 277, 420
  Alexandria, 125
  Amiens, 125, 238, 292, 405, 422
  "Ashburton," 139, 424
  Bassein, 191
  Berlin, 360
  Breda, 419
  "Bulwer-Clayton," 377, 424
  Cairo, 125
  "Durand," 403
  Ghent, 129-30, 422
  Gundamuk, 397-8
  Hague, the, 63, 419
  Klosterseven, 90
  London (1814), 294, 422
  London (1818), 140, 422
  London (1824), 406, 423
  London (1876), 325
  London (1884), 332, 359
  Madrid (1670), 419
  Madrid (1750), 420
  Mangalore, 174
  "Moffatt," 355
  "Oregon," 141, 424
  Paris (1763), 98, 153, 277, 420
  Paris (1783), 121, 421
  Paris (1784), 422
  Paris (1814), 129, 422
  Pretoria, 331
  Purandhar, 171
  Ryswick, 61, 419
  St Germain-en-Laye, 30
  St Petersburg, 423
  Salbai, 172

Treaties and Conventions—*contd.*
Sand River, 316-7
Saragossa, 227
Tordesillas, 17, 227
Utrecht, 64-6, 73-4, 78, 82, 276, 278, 419-20
Versailles, 121, 174, 278, 421-2
Waitangi, 264, 266-7
Washington (1842), *see* "Ashburton"
Washington (1846), *see* "Oregon"
Washington (1850), *see* "Bulwer-Clayton"
Washington (1871), 424
Treaties of Partition (recent):
In Africa, 336, 339, 343, 356
In Oceania, 384
In Siam, 412-3
Trek, the Great, 305-14
Trincomalee, 405
Trinidad, 35, 45, 376, 422, 426
Tugela River, the, 299, 309-10, 313

UGANDA, 336, 339-40, 350, 427
Ulundi, 329
United Empire Loyalists, the (*see* Loyalists)
United States, the, 115-23, 125, 127-30, 138-41, 367, 373-6, 383

VANCOUVER ISLAND, 18, 141-3, 370, 373, 414, 424
Vaudreuil, Marquis de, 87, 88, 93, 97-8
Venezuela, 378
Vergor, 86, 95
Victoria, 249, 251, 255-7, 270-1, 379-80, 385, 425
Victoria Nyanza, Lake, 286, 342
Virgin Islands, the, 35, 38-40
Virginia, 22-4, 33-4, 38, 58, 60, 80-4, 86, 104-5, 107, 111-2, 115-7, 119, 123

WAIRAU RIVER, the, 263, 265-6
Wakefield, Edward Gibbon 136, 259, 263, 265-6, 268
Walfisch Bay, 334
Walpole, Sir Robert, 14, 67-9, 71
Wandewash, 152
Wars:
Afghan, 205-6, 397-8
Ashanti, 281-2, 348
Basuto, 316-7
Boer, 316, 330-1, 361-3
Burmese, 198, 211-2, 402
Chinese, 219, 408-10
Crimean, 219, 321
Egyptian, 346
Gurkha, 197
Kaffir, 289-91, 294-5, 304-5, 315-7, 329
Mahdiist, 347-9
Mahratta, 164, 170-2, 191-4, 196-7
Maori, 264, 381
Mysore, 164, 173-4, 187, 291
Napoleonic (1793-1815), 15, 52, 125-8, 185-6, 191, 194-5, 235, 290-1, 293-4, 405, 414
of American Independence, 14, 112-23, 153, 172-4, 231-2, 405, 414
of Grand Alliance, 60, 61
of Jenkins' Ear, 14, 71, 75-7, 147-9, 277
of Spanish Succession, 62-4
Pontiac's, 101
Rohilla, 165
Seven Years', 88-99, 152-7, 414
Sikh, 12, 207-10
Sinde, 206
with France (1628), 30
with Spain (Elizabeth's), 20, 35, 49, 50
with Spain (Cromwell's), 38-9
with the U.S. (1812), 128-30
Zulu, 329
Washington, George, 59, 81, 83-5, 91, 103, 113-6, 118-9, 121-2, 127
Waterboer, 304, 315, 324
Weihaiwei, 410, 415, 427
Wellesley, the Marquess, 126, 185-96, 198, 208, 212
Wellesley, Province, 405-6
Wellington, the Duke of, 126, 129, 185-7, 191, 193, 293
Wentworth, William Charles, 243, 248, 384
West Africa (*see* Africa, West)
West Australia, 257-9, 268, 380, 385-6, 425
West Indies, the, 12, 34-45, 62, 99-100, 118, 376-7
West Point, 57, 118

Whig colonial policy, the, 105, 133, 267
William III, 27, 62
William Henry, Fort, 57, 88-90
Winnipeg, 141-2, 370
Wolfe, General James, 91-6
Wolseley, Lord, 282, 330, 369

York, Cape, 227, 231, 234
Yorktown, 119
Yukon River, the, 374, 424

Zambesi River, the, 13, 274, 286, 289, 297-8, 336, 355-6
Zamindars, 182-4, 202
Zanzibar, 285-6, 333, 335-6, 338-9, 427
Zulus, the, 15, 297-8, 306, 308-13, 328-9

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